THE NEW REPUBLIC

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The Editors

May 7, 1962, 25 c

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Inflation Bugaboo

★ A lot of us hoped that the first thing Kennedy would do on taking office would be to re-educate the public against Economic Eisenhowerism. The latter consisted of a hysterical fear of inflation, an indiscriminate hostility to Federal spending, and an over-emphasis on a balanced budget. It found finest flower in Treasury Secretary George Humphrey who, when asked in 1957 if he didn't believe in compensatory government spending to fight recessions, told a reporter, "No, I don't think so, Joe. I don't think you can spend yourself rich."

Let's take inflation first. Ike scared the entire nation into a stock market boom over non-existent inflation. People hedged against inflation by buying stocks. The Great Bull Market of 1949 really got pounding under Ike. It continued right up to 1962 but has lost $25 to $30 billions in paper values since December. Why? The current high prices can only be justified by fear of inflation, and instead of inflation prices are stable. People don't need a "hedge" against something that is non-existent (temporarily anyway). Are prices stable? Well, US wholesale commodity prices are three tenths of 1 percent higher than what they were in 1958, and retail cost of living has gone up only one cent on the dollar per year since 1958 which compares favorably with the normal average price increase (retail and wholesale) of the past 60 years, of two and one-third percent. Stock market inflation hedgers will have to work this one out: it's beyond our field. When Kennedy knocked down the steel price rise he demonstrated dramatically that he is going to fight inflation: the stock market last week seemed to be bouncing down a flight of stairs.

Kennedy has never really started the job of economic re-education and yet it lies athwart the biggest domestic problem he has. Kennedy was busy with Cuba, with Khrushchev, with nuclear testing. Furthermore, at home the recession touched bottom a month after he took office and recovery started in. He could wait.

But now recovery is slowing down. True, it is continuing; but not in the way it was hoped. The biggest economic problem today is still unemployment; papers don't write about it any more but it's there. There are 5.5 percent of the working force unemployed. January predictions of business recovery and GNP are being adjusted downward. Signs point to a 1963 recession unless Kennedy moves further "left" on economic matters.

Kennedy is inching in that direction. Two things could be done – more spending and tax cuts. Kennedy is doing both – a little. He asks Congress for (1) $600 millions "emergency" work relief (with $2 billion standby authority); and (2) tax cuts to corporations which modernize their plants, along with a liberalized scale of depreciation allowance.

If the economy doesn't perk up fast we think Kennedy will have to break with economic conservatives before long. He would be in a better position to do so, we think, if he started explaining things to the public right away.

Back at the Ranch

★ Lyndon Johnson's man John Connally, ex-Navy Secretary, is running in the Democratic primary for governor of Texas in a field of six. Johnson's Darwinian campaign adaptability to the New Frontier in 1960 was one of the wonders of political biology. Liberalism sprouted overnight. Nobody doubts in Washington that Johnson has his eye on the White House in 1968. But Vice Presidents get re-nominated if they have independent political home strength. FDR dropped another Texan, Garner, after one term.

And an odd thing has happened. Ex-Navy Secretary Connally is fighting the Kennedy program in Texas. He's against federal aid to education and medical care. He's one of the five conservatives against the one pro-Kennedy program man, Don Yarborough. People are rubbing their eyes. Johnson favors Kennedy in Washington, Connally takes a different course down in Texas. It makes one wonder whether acquired characteristics can be transmitted.

You-Know-Who

★ In Hattiesburg, Mississippi, Mr. P. D. East publishes a light-hearted journal called *The Petal Paper*. In recent months it has taken on a graver note. It has delved into what ails the country and has found the answer; Mr. East has come out in favor of segregation, segregation for the Scotch-Irish.

Not one to wince at grim facts, *The Petal Paper* notes the degree to which miscegenation has already gone; the Scotch-Irish threat, it reports, not merely menaces our bloodstream but our very way of life. Look at their morals, it cries; look at Mary Queen of Scots and Macbeth! They dance highland flings and drink usquebaugh. Let us go out straightway and segregate our schools and golf courses.

This column wishes to enlist firmly under the *Petal* banner. Tolerance can go only so far. Our motto: Act before it is too late. We wholeheartedly join Southern United Sons and Daughters for Segregation (Scotch-Irish chapter).

Our friend, Senator Paul Douglas, holds back. He insists that he is opposed to all race prejudice. This, we maintain, is simply sickly liberalism. Perhaps there is another more sinister reason. The libel law being what it is we shall merely hint. But note the name, "Douglas" . . .

We plan to lend full support to Senator Russell's current filibuster against the civil rights-literacy bill if he will include the You-know-who. Why should they be permitted to vote anyway; it strikes at the heart of our Constitutional System. The Scotch-Irish are all right in their place, but would you want one to marry your daughter?

One point more! Louisiana freedom buses must be organized. The Scotch-Irish must be sent back where they come from. Since they come from practically everywhere this, at first sight, presents difficulties. Not at all! Give them free, one-way tickets to wherever they want to go. It will solve all America's racial problems overnight.

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A year ago, nobody outside the White House and very few inside knew what the Administration would do about foreign trade. The current law, extended repeatedly since the original Trade Agreements Act was passed in 1934 (and as repeatedly diluted by amendments and exceptions) is scheduled to expire June 30. Would the President move for still another renewal, or, since he faced a fight anyway, would he go to the mat for something new and bigger? Most US tariffs had already been negotiated down to within a few percentage points of the levels prevailing in Western Europe. Besides, the accelerated economic integration of the Common Market countries had already created a situation in which something more than the existing authority to bargain for tariff reduction, devised a generation ago to suit a different trading world, had become necessary.

In January, the President ended conjecture. He recommended a foreign trade measure so drastic in its grant of tariff-cutting authority that he would be empowered to cut tariffs in half, and in cases where the Common Market countries and the US produce more than four-fifths of any particular category of commodities entering international trade, to negotiate all the way down to no tariffs at all. He would be free to bargain for reciprocal reductions by broad categories, rather than on an item-by-item basis.

Most Americans still don't know what his proposal is all about. As one questioning correspondent puts it, the man in the street responds to a question about trade as if he had been asked about the habits of the domesticated yak. A few responses: "Why should we import anything from overseas if we can make it in America?" Another: "I say don't have any tariffs at all unless the government really needs the money." And a third, "The best thing to do is to sell our stuff to them and then keep the money we get here and not go spending it on imported this and imported that."

The burden of explaining and of nursing the Administration's Trade Expansion Act through Congress has fallen squarely upon the Administration itself, which means that the usual horse-trading rules of politics apply. Cotton textiles, carpets and glass imports have already been given special treatment to shield them from the impact of imports under the new Act. Other industries that have been notable complainers about the injurious effect of foreign competition have been silent in the past month, but perhaps they are only gathering wind for the big storm in the House, and then in the Senate. Or per-

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haps they have been informally assured their grievances too will be handled with care under the trade adjustment clauses in the bill. At any rate, the erosion of the President's original plan has already gone far.

At the moment, the legislation is being subjected to line-by-line review by two technicians advising the House Ways and Means Committee, a review so far confined to clarifying the text. Debate on matters of substance has not even begun in committee, though a month of hearings has been held in which as many as 75 witnesses a week testified. The Ways and Means Chairman, Wilbur Mills, has been quoted as saying that since he has been against two out of three of the President's major proposals – taxes and medical care for the aged – he had better go along on the third – trade. Mr. Mills' strategy, however, calls for significant concessions (notably retention of authority in the Tariff Commission to recommend relief under escape clause provisions of the Act) to dilute protectionist opposition. And domestic oil and coal producers who have been pressing for limitations on oil imports are seeking an alliance with lead, zinc, plywood, pottery and glass interests.

Though the bill is expected by Administration spokesmen to be reported out toward the end of the first half of May, the consensus in other quarters is that the end of the month is a more likely date. The Chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, Harry Byrd of Virginia, has said that he will begin his hearings on the measure after the Fourth of July. All of which means that consideration of trade will run over into the summer months, and since this is an election year, the pressure to close shop early may be irresistible. In the end, the President is expected to "win."

It will be a significant victory, for it is no small thing that the President has – by and large – placed protectionism on the defensive: By dramatizing the Act as his response to European integration, the President has given his program a certain idealistic, internationalist glow that may help Congress see its way to giving him almost what he wants not only in trade, but also in foreign aid. This is all to the good – so long as the limitations of the Trade Act are recognized.

For instance, there are other barriers to trade than tariffs. Common Market countries still maintain many devices to control the entry of imports, especially in agriculture. Such regulations are more serious than tariffs because, in many cases, they impose an absolute quantitative restriction on the amount of a type of goods that may be imported into the country, no matter what the price. A foreign supplier, if he is efficient enough, may jump over a tariff wall; but a quota system is a law that forbids him to try. In addition, there are "skimming charges" or variable fees which are imposed to bring the price of the imported product up to the level of the domestic product; there are state buying agencies, or monopolies, which are the sole licensees empowered under law to purchase certain imported items, and who vary the quantity of their transactions with foreign suppliers to assist domestic producers, and who also charge special fees on such foreign transactions.

Finally, and this is most galling to American farmers, there are such things as mixing regulations. The best grade of bread flour, for example, is made of the type of hard red winter (or high gluten) wheat that is grown in Kansas and adjacent states – and has been continually in surplus since World War I except for brief intervals. Many European countries permit the entry of carefully limited percentages of such wheat only for the purpose of blending with their own poorer wheats.

These are some of the reasons why all of the American farm organizations have endorsed an amendment to the proposed Act that would deny the President authority to reduce tariffs wherever there are non-tariff restrictions. They argue that if rigid import quotas or regulations remain after tariffs have been reduced, there will have been no real gain for freer trade.

In the field of manufactured goods, the Act could be self-defeating if it is not accompanied by effective measures to keep US costs competitive through the control of inflation and increases in the productivity of American industry. If, under the regime of a progressive lowering of trade barriers which the Trade Expansion Act contemplates, the prices of US goods rise above competitive levels, the inflow of foreign goods will be accelerated to the point where the pressure on short-term balance of payments will become more unbearable than it is today. And this is exactly what the Administration's bill is supposed to alleviate – if not to cure outright!

Since the cost-price squeeze felt by US manufacturers is the consequence of the general imbalance between our affluent, high-wage society and rivals who are, in varying degree, much less affluent, the competition will get worse before it gets better, and it will not be eased by minor adjustments in efficiency and productivity. Furthermore, the impact of increasing quantities of imports will fall most heavily on the weakest American industries, those which, generally speaking, are composed predominantly of small firms, many of them in depressed areas – the labor-intensive industries that employ the most labor per unit of production, at the lowest wages.

If this new legislation is to accomplish all that its framers intend, it must be undergirded by a variety of other measures for putting US scientific, managerial and manpower skills to work. But will the power of the state be used to promote full utilization of resources, to encourage change instead of stopping it by hiking a tariff or raising a price support or merely dishing out unemployment insurance or home relief or

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food stamps? As Oscar Gass noted in the first of his two articles on Trade Liberalization in these pages (March 19): "To discuss national employment in the United States with primary concentration on international trading is to let a very small tail wag a very big dog." Until those who may be dispossessed of either employment or business by the operation of the Act can look forward to an equal expansion, over the long term, in their own circumstances, their enthusiasm for this legislative effort will be restrained, no matter what kind of bill the Administration gets.

Carrying the Word

"Shall we go on conferring our Civilization upon the peoples that sit in darkness, or shall we give those poor things a rest?" – MARK TWAIN

Addressing the Associated Press on April 23, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy said not a word about what can be learned from foreigners, or the responsibility of the press to report more fully and accurately on what is happening abroad. It was all the other way: Indonesians and Japanese and the rest should know more about us, for if they do, they will see we are better than they think. Mr. Kennedy made this discovery on his recent world tour.

What can be done about this "misunderstanding and misinformation"? The Attorney General wants "our artists, our poets, our musicians, our writers to go across into these countries and give lectures . . . and stand up there and answer questions." In addition, he wants "people within government – Congressmen and Senators and those in the Executive Branch of the Government who know and who are experts on American history and know our own system – to go across into these other countries and give talks and lectures – not just propaganda – to go in and admit we've made mistakes but show what kind of a system of government we have here in the United States."

The essence of their message, the Attorney General says, should be "the fact that we believe that the State exists for the individual, that this is what capitalism is about, and this is what we are fighting for." (A puzzling phrase in the context, since he spoke also of our "fight for peace" and hoped more selfless young Americans would join the Peace Corps and "go to other lands . . . to help and assist in this fight.") "If we can get these kind of things across, it's going to make a major difference."

It's never easy to be the Bearer of Truth, and this message, especially, may be hard to get across in cultures where the concept of the individual scarcely exists. One wonders, too, whether his abstraction accurately conveys the essence of our system. Our form

FOOTNOTES *to the* WEEK

AMBASSADOR EDMUND A. GULLION, now in the Congo, is among those under consideration for elevation to the Moscow post about to be vacated by Llewellyn Thompson. The President is said to be hesitant to move him from the key assignment at Leopoldville, however, and may turn instead to Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs Foy D. Kohler or former Ambassador to Poland Jacob Beam. In 1951, as a ranking Foreign Service officer in South Vietnam, Gullion spoke candidly to touring Rep. John F. Kennedy of the futility of pro-French US policies in Indochina, and the two later became acquainted in Washington. —— LESTER PEARSON *surprised guests at the White House dinner for Nobel Prize winners on April 29 with his sanguine predictions for Liberal success in the June Canadian elections. But the Diefenbaker government has acquired strong support in the western wheat-cultivating provinces, he said, with the China grain deal.* —— THE PRESIDENT was told by an official of Americans for Democratic Action that he ought not to be "hypersensitive" to criticism, for if it were not for outside pressure, particularly from liberals, "he might wake up one day and be the most liberal element in the country. And that would be the most difficult position for a President – to be far-out liberal." —— SECRETARY McNAMARA *faces mounting Congressional opposition to further unification moves, to say nothing of his reorganization of the Reserves. He has shelved for the time being such projects as merging Army, Navy and Air Force (and possibly Veterans Administration) hospitals; also the creation of a single agency to handle general-purpose construction for all services.* —— THE URBAN LEAGUE has invited the President to address a special conference May 15 of regional directors to dramatize the drive to force government contractors to hire Negroes on an equal basis with whites or risk the loss of their contracts. The real stumbling block here is refusal of craft unions to desegregate. Negro electricians, plumbers, carpenters are kept off jobs by all-white unions. —— ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS *officials are worrying their product has been over-sold. The new public relations line will be: "Things may get worse before they get worse in Latin America."* —— THE ANTITRUST DIVISION of the Justice Department is about to get Congressional authority it has long sought to subpoena company documents in civil suits. —— JOHN F. KENNEDY *will not listen to advice from loyal subordinates who say that the youngest brother's bid for a Senate seat from Massachusetts is hurting the Kennedy "image." The President tells them that Teddy can have what he wants.*

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of government also exists for society, with a "general welfare" to be promoted and a "common defense" provided for.

But why cavil? Of course we must bear witness; and we do: No other society in all history has sent missionaries abroad in such numbers as has ours already – with armed forces deployed far and wide, people going almost everywhere on cultural exchanges, teeming economic aid missions, a bulging foreign service, troops of itinerant legislators, plus innumerable plain travelers bursting with show-how and know-how.

The Argentine Muddle

Censorship and security measures have been tightened in Argentina, the recent elections annulled, and all 22 provincial governments taken over by the Army, in order "to save democracy" in Buenos Aires. Despite some confusion and divided counsels among the military they retain the loyalty of 150,000 well paid and equipped troops, and are evidently able to fill their chosen role as "guardians of the public order." Their only concessions to democratic forms have been the retention of José María Guido as a figurehead President and the vague promise of new elections in 18 months.

The Peronists, whose unexpected electoral victories in March led to the deposition and arrest of President Frondizi and the subsequent crackdown, are now barred from participation in public life. Their newspapers have been seized, their meeting places padlocked. But a party which polled 35 percent of the vote and which continues to dominate the three million member Confederation of Labor (CGT) cannot be suppressed or smothered indefinitely. Under the leadership of Andrés Framini, a hard-boiled union leader who was the successful candidate for the governorship of Buenos Aires, the party has become a rallying-point for workers, *campesinos*, left-wing intellectuals, and many of the discontented in a backward society. While they take the name and some of the policies of the former dictator for popularity's sake, the *peronista* leaders do not want him back to share their power; and the 66-year-old ex-Caudillo, living luxuriously in Madrid with a new young wife, is certainly not anxious to return. *Peronismo* is coming to resemble *fidelismo* in its attacks on the upper classes, its opposition to foreign (and especially US) investment, and its flirtation with the 100,000-member Argentine Communist Party.

Frondizi's policies, as the *Wall Street Journal* put it, "were about as close to what the Alliance for Progress envisioned as had been achieved anywhere in Latin America." Currency stabilization, wage ceilings, tax benefits to new industries, and an agreement to insure the convertibility into dollars of US investments and profits touched off a capital import boom that has been running at $100 million a year. Yet the much publicized new industries did not reverse a decline in the living standards of the ordinary worker or cure the ailments of a colonial economy. Oil production, for example, increased 30 percent in 1961 over the previous year. But the price of $1.60 a barrel guaranteed US producing companies is higher than the cost of imported oil. Meanwhile the foreign trade deficit rose from $300 million in 1958 to $500 million last year; the current budget is $500 million out of balance, and agriculture, which accounts for 95 percent of Argentina's exports, had its worst harvest in 10 years in 1961. Only a few industrialists, speculators, foreign investors, and military officials who used their privileges to make deals have profited from the policies of the past four years.

The current crisis raises hard questions. Despite Frondizi's failure to institute tax reforms or begin a much-needed agrarian reform, his encouragement of foreign investment won him US support and Alliance for Progress funds (a $150 million *Alianza* loan less than a week before the March elections was widely interpreted as a reward for the military-sponsored break with Cuba and a bribe to the electorate – which the Peronist voters promptly spurned). Now Washington's protégé – who twice flew North to confer with President Kennedy – is in prison on Martín García island, and the generals who put him there would like to join Duvalier, Ydigoras, Stroessner and the Somoza brothers as recipients of *Alianza* bounty. As Venezuela's Romulo Betancourt put it in his "belligerent repudiation" of the new regime: "A firm stand is called for so that those who carried out the military coup in Argentina will feel that international opinion has turned away from them."

Jubilation in Atlanta

Within two hours after the Supreme Court of the United States had given its opinion in the Tennessee reapportionment case of *Baker v Carr*, Attorney Morris Abrams of Atlanta had entered a suit contesting the present county unit electoral system of Georgia. With remarkable speed, a three-man federal court thereupon announced a ruling which, in effect, means the end of rural control of Georgia politics. It is the first federal court order spelling out in detail what the 14th Amendment requires to prevent invidious discrimination in apportionment of voting.

For years, ever since old Gene Talmadge was elected Governor in 1946 without a popular majority, a political dynasty built on the county unit system has ruled the state. Negro, labor and urban votes could be ignored. Indeed, they might best be ignored by any seri-

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ous contender for state office. Political power has been held by county rings and courthouse bosses. Thus, Rep. James Davis, a scabrous political growth, could be re-elected by carrying two smaller-populated counties, though losing the heavily-populated third county that includes Atlanta. Now Representative Davis must get the votes, and though he might win one more term (his opponent is a decent young lawyer, Charles Longstreet Weltner), it will probably be his last.

If the court ruling had come two months earlier, the clean-up of Georgia politics might have got off to a fast start this year. But since candidates for office have only until May 5 to qualify, there has been little time to organize. One encouraging consequence of the decision is the announcement last week by Ed Wilson, Mayor of Macon and professor at Mercer University Law School, that he will run for Lieutenant-Governor.

How will the inevitable changes affect such men as Senators Talmadge and Russell? Both have built their careers, Russell in a more sedate way, on the unit system. Both could at this point probably command a popular majority. But if they are going to survive, they will have to tailor their strategy and the tone of their campaigns and performances to a more liberal, less racist constituency. For they must henceforth pay more deference to the city that has roughly a fourth of the state's population, and Atlanta is a center of enlightenment.

"Paw, I've Come Back To Get Sis."

What Counts in Michigan

Michigan's House of Representatives is largely, although not completely, representative of the population – it ranks seventh in the nation in degree of representativeness. The Michigan Senate, stronghold of rural Republican conservatives, is another story. Boundaries of the Senate districts are frozen into the Constitution; they are essentially the same districts as had been established in 1925, which in turn were based on a partial reapportionment of the districts of 1908. The largest Senate district has 12 times the population of the smallest. Twenty-seven percent of the state's population elects a majority of the Michigan Senate. In the past four elections, Republican candidates for the Senate have received approximately half the popular vote; yet, they have controlled the Senate by majorities of nearly two to one. Wayne County (Detroit), with one-third of the population, has seven Senators out of 34.

When Michigan's Constitutional Convention met last fall, the delegates were faced on the one hand with a demand for a Senate that would be reapportioned on a population basis, and on the other hand with demands that the present system of additional representation for sparsely populated areas be retained. The solution that they approved was a complicated fraud that has been touted as being based "80 percent on population and 20 percent on area."

Under the proposed new system, Senate districts would, beginning in 1970, be apportioned on the basis of "apportionment factors." A "factor" would be equal to one percent of the state's area, or a quarter of one percent of its population. (This is where the 80-20 comes from – percentage of population would be four times as important as percentage of area.) Counties with 13 factors or more would be entitled to one seat for each 13 factors. The remaining counties are to be grouped in districts "having as nearly as possible 13 apportionment factors, but in no event less than 10 or more than 16." In brief: 19.05 acres would be equal to one human being. These acres need not be inhabited or even habitable; included in them are Michigan's nine million acres of state and national forests, which would receive as much representation as almost 500,000 human beings. One existing rural district would be entitled to a Senator, even if it were completely unpopulated. Finally, existing districts would be untouched if they have from 10 to 16 factors, and it just so happens that almost all of the existing rural districts have approximately 10 apportionment factors.

The actual apportionment of the districts would be done by an eight-man commission, half of whose membership is to be appointed by each of the major political parties. This, too, like the "80-20" idea, seems fair. But there is a rather large catch. The state is divid-

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ed into four regions, and the commission must include one member of each party from each region. The result is that three-fourths of the apportionment commission would come from that part of the state having 29 percent of its population.

The Convention's work, however, has been unsettled by the US Supreme Court, which on April 23 announced its decision to return the case of *Scholle v. Hare* to the Michigan Supreme Court for "further consideration in the light of *Baker v. Carr*" – the recent Tennessee case. Challenging the *present* apportionment of the Michigan Senate, *Scholle v. Hare* was brought in 1960 by August Scholle, president of the Michigan AFL-CIO. The Michigan Court rebuffed Mr. Scholle, and he appealed to the Supreme Court.

What the Michigan Court will do is unknown, for the basis of its original rejection of Scholle's claim is uncertain – was the claim rejected because the case was not justiciable before *Baker v. Carr*, or was it rejected because the Court felt the apportionment to be equitable, or at least justifiable? Even if the Michigan justices think the present apportionment is not justifiable, they might very well decide not to hand down a decision based on the present state constitution, since it is likely to go out of existence in a few months. Some of the Convention delegates who have been fighting for a more equitable apportionment will now attempt to change the 80-20 gerrymander into something more equitable, and which therefore will be more likely to withstand an attack in the courts. Whether they will be able to do so remains to be seen.

All of this is bound up with the gubernatorial candidacy of George Romney. Mr. Romney, to help assure himself the Republican nomination, has gone along with conservative Republican desires on apportionment. This has given the Democrats a useful campaign issue. Ironically, if Mr. Romney is elected Michigan's first Republican governor in 14 years, he may find himself as immobilized as his Democratic predecessors have been – as the result of an apportionment plan that he, as leader of the moderate Republicans at the Convention, helped formulate.

Literacy and the Law

As of this writing the Senate has spent a week debating S.2750, a bill that would make it illegal for states to disqualify a voter on the basis of a "literacy test," if that person successfully completed the first six grades of an accredited American school. The debate is expected to continue for another two weeks. Southern Senators object to the proposed legislation on the grounds it would trespass on the reserve power of the states to prescribe the "qualifications" of voters in federal elections. That the determination of such "qualifications" is a primary power of the states is not open to question. But it is not an unlimited power. Like every other exercise of state authority, it is limited by the demands of reasonableness and of equality of treatment contained in the 14th Amendment. And insofar as voting rights are concerned, a state's authority must be exercised in conformity with the express restraints of the 15th, 16th and 19th Amendments.

As we read S.2750 it is a very modest measure, the constitutionality of which cannot be in serious doubt. It does not challenge the abstract reasonableness of state-imposed "qualifications" which are grounded in literacy or general familiarity with the civic order; it does not bar other state-imposed "qualifications," such as minimum age or payment of a poll tax.

Through the findings of the Civil Rights Commission and otherwise, Congress has reasonable grounds for thinking that literacy tests and tests for familiarity with the civic order have been and are being widely used for the purpose and with the effect of achieving discriminations and disenfranchisement because of race or color, and these are proscribed by the 14th and 15th Amendments. The bill is a practical way of curtailing these widely attested unconstitutional abuses, while at the same time giving full scope to the states' legislative interests in assuring intelligent and informed participation in the electoral process.

Effective, Yes

The practice of sending Louisiana Negroes north, either to starve or to become a burden upon northern relief agencies, is not even a protest, it is merely a snarl. It will be effective, however, although not in the way that its sponsors wish; the Negroes will neither starve nor bankrupt the North, even if the threat to send a trainload of 1,000 or more is carried out. What their arrival will accomplish is to strip from the White Citizens' Council of Louisiana the last vestige of a claim to consideration as civilized men. Whites who consign their Negro neighbors to what they suppose will be starvation or humiliation or the creation of want in the places they reach, are men who have transformed themselves into acolytes of Death, on a level with Stalin's creatures, thrusting people into trains bound for Siberia, and Hitler's accomplices herding victims into extermination camps. Unhappily, the contempt that this scheme will bring upon the State of Louisiana cannot be restricted to the guilty. In part, it is certain to fall where it is not deserved – on those citizens of the state who are making a gallant, if losing fight to maintain the traditions of grace and honor that once made the name of Louisiana music to the ears.

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Two Many Cooks

The exploitation (or as some hopefully say, conservation) of America's natural resources has traditionally been a free-for-all. For example, President Eisenhower's natural resources adviser found more than 50 public bodies and private interests asserting authority and ready to do battle over one small intra-state river. Four different federal Departments have their oars in rivers: Defense, which through the Corps of Engineers is responsible for flood control; Interior, which worries about reclamation and fish; Agriculture, which handles irrigation; and Health, Education and Welfare which deals with urban water supply and pollution.

The story is repeated in other realms: electric power is regulated and partly administered by the Federal Power Commission but is also a matter for the Agriculture Department which runs rural co-op programs, and for the Interior Department which handles public power and power for national defense. "Cooperation," such as it is, consists mostly of alliances between interest groups to outwit other interest groups. Thus the Army's Corps of Engineers and Interior's Bureau of Reclamation, long at loggerheads in the West, have an informal peace treaty which allows them to make joint demands on Congress which appease so many local powers that rational, national planning, such as that attempted by Sen. Paul Douglas, has been impossible.

Back in 1938 Harold Ickes argued that only a Department of Conservation of Cabinet rank could bring order out of chaos. More recently, a Hoover Commission task force has suggested a Department of Natural Resources. But again, too many are benefiting from chaos – and too few of those who aren't benefiting know what they are missing – to endow such proposals with much political appeal. This Administration has moved very cautiously to the water's edge, only getting its toes wet by proposing, with the support of the Chairmen of both House and Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committees, to create a Water Resources Council composed of the Secretaries of Interior, Agriculture, Army, and Health, Education and Welfare.

The case for more sweeping reform is strong. The present system makes every government agency a vested interest in its own right, while making nobody responsible for the national welfare. In practice, coordination comes only from the Bureau of the Budget, which has neither the staff nor the perspective to provide a sweeping and farsighted appraisal of the various demands made on public funds. The President has encouraged Interior Secretary Stewart Udall to take the lead in dealing with natural resource problems. But it still takes a meeting between Mr. Udall and Secretary Freeman of Agriculture to settle conflicts like those between the Forest Service and the Park Service. So long as personal friendship facilitates such cooperation, the Budget Bureau does not have to do the job. But the very existence of satisfactory relationships at the moment suggests that now is the time, unlikely to be soon repeated, for permanently reorganizing the various natural resource agencies under the Interior Department. The President could both simplify and legitimize Secretary Udall's presently informal leadership by transferring agencies like the Corps of Engineers, the Forest Service, the Soil Conservation Service, and the Rural Electrification Administration, to the Interior Department. Such a reorganization could, like the Urban Affairs Department, be vetoed by the House or the Senate, but such a vote would by no means be certain, despite the power of the lobbies.

New Round of Testing

It would be feckless to restate our reasons for opposing the resumption of nuclear testing in the atmosphere. Tests over the Pacific Ocean will be carried out during the next couple of months. The pertinent question now is where we go from here; specifically, how many and what kind of tests are to be conducted?

Three types are envisioned: proof-testing of current weapons, including the Polaris and Atlas missiles; developmental testing to improve the efficiency of nuclear

"I'll Be Back"

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weapons; and weapons testing to explore the effect of nuclear explosions on communications, moving missiles and hardened missile sites. The President played an active role in deciding what tests in each category to approve, balancing two conflicting pressures: those who, having opposed atmospheric testing sought a very truncated series which might deny us the very information that we were testing to get; and those who sought to conduct any tests which might conceivably have some utility. Although the President may have yielded too much to Congressional and other pressures to do more proof-testing than is really necessary, the series as a whole – as described in press reports – seems to be well-balanced and designed to keep fallout to the lowest possible levels.

Looking beyond the current series and beyond tests which the Russians are said to be planning in retaliation, we believe that another effort should be made to negotiate an end to them all. Perhaps after this exercise the Administration will be more ready to consider symphathetically the case – discussed two weeks ago in these pages – for a nationally monitored test ban.

Work for the Shah

As a staunch anti-Communist ally, Iran has been rewarded, since Dr. Mossadeq's fall in August, 1953, by large injections of US aid. She was a key link in John Foster Dulles' vision of a Northern Tier of embattled states – including Turkey, Iraq and Pakistan – which were to hold the line of anti-Soviet containment right up against Russia's southern flank. But this Cold War rhetoric is beginning to go out of fashion; internal "fronts" of poverty, disease, administrative corruption and glaring inequality are now seen to be potentially as dangerous as an external military threat from the Soviet Union. After a long period during which the CIA argued that a reformist regime could not be risked in Tehran, the State Department is insisting that reforms are essential; and the Shah of Iran, on his state visit to Washington late in April, reaffirmed his government's interest in planned economic growth, land reform and "phased" democracy.

Conditions for a real advance in Iran seem more propitious than at almost any time in the last decade. Dr. Amini is a tough, level-headed Prime Minister who, in 11 months of office, has pushed through an austere program of financial stabilization in sharp contrast to the post-Mossadeq spending spree. His aims have been to check the rise of domestic prices and reduce the deficit in the current balance of payments. In both, he had been fairly successful, and although originally a nominee of the Palace, he has managed to achieve a greater degree of independence from the Shah than any of his predecessors – except, of course, Dr. Mossadeq.

He has recently toured Western Europe to muster financial support for Iran's third $2.5 billion five-year plan, due to be launched in September. Dr. Amini hopes that a consortium of World Bank members will help bridge the plan's $800 million foreign exchange gap on the lines of corporate aid recently granted to India and Pakistan. He is looking for contributions from Britain, West Germany, France, Belgium and Italy – but his eyes are mainly on the US which may well provide up to half the $120 million to $150 million required in the first year. Fathered by a group of young foreign-trained economists, the plan's main emphasis is on agriculture; but the big dam concept has given way to small irrigation projects in the hope of bringing immediate relief to Iran's 15 million peasants.

Land reform will be the surest test of the Shah's political courage: Iran's *haute bourgeoisie* is among the most entrenched and reactionary in the world. Some absentee landlords in Tehran may be heard to boast that their estates are larger than Switzerland and, never having visited them, to be incredibly vague as to their location. Some 600 landlords own more than one village and a handful own more than 100 villages. But a wind of change is blowing.

The Minister of Agriculture, Dr. Hasan Arsanjani, has this spring launched a revolutionary land reform pilot scheme in the Maragheh area of Azerbaijan which dispossesses all landlords of estates bigger than one village, which they may pick themselves. Compensation is paid to them over 10 years while land thus acquired is sold to peasants, organized into cooperatives on generous installments. It should be added that Maragheh, where one landlord alone owns 58 villages and peasants are treated like serfs, lies on the Soviet border under a constant barrage of propaganda.

If the reform is pushed through it will be a landmark in the social history of modern Iran. Dr. Arsanjani claims that the process begun at Maragheh will be completed throughout the country within two years. Most Western observers are skeptical, but if given firm US support he might conceivably prove them wrong.

Not unnaturally, Dr. Amini has united against him both Communists and extremist landlords, as well as impatient young liberals – teachers, students, junior government officials, some skilled workers – all angered by his dictatorial methods and his refusal, in the present delicate circumstances, to commit himself to a date for the next elections. But for the immediate future the regime enjoys two inestimable assets: the Army's unwavering loyalty to the Shah and, almost equally important, the fact that the 10,000 turbulent students of Tehran university are now busy cramming for their summer exams and will soon be dispersed to the vast, rocky peace of the country for vacations.

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Ghana and "The Redeemer"

President Kwame Nkrumah is determined to make Ghana – five years old last month – the economic showpiece of independent tropical Africa. Only by so doing can he retain the political leadership of Pan-Africa and the veneration of the continent's newer nationalists. Yet a worsening economy, continued corruption and labor unrest have marred Ghana's looks.

With Nkrumah's blessing, the dominant Convention People's Party (founded by him in 1949) has steadily extended its influence throughout the country. An individual must support the party if he wishes to work on a farm, in a factory, or hold a white-collar position. The CPP indoctrinates the youth and attempts to inculcate the concept of Nkrumah's infallibility. Pictures and films of the *Osageyfo* ("the redeemer"), as the President is known, are everywhere. Those who oppose his rule – and the few who do are mostly confined to the ineffectual intelligentsia – are detained without trial. There was a spate of arrests late last year (including Dr. Joseph Danquah, the *doyen* of Ghana's older nationalists, and Joe Appiah, a lawyer and the late Sir Stafford Cripps' son-in-law), and in a March 29 speech the *Osageyfo* made his dislike of criticism even plainer. He promised to amend the Preventive Detention Act so that detainees could be held without trial for 20 years if they were rearrested (for suspected "subversion" or "abusing their freedom") after being released from a five-year political imprisonment without trial (the present practice).

The University of Ghana, where students have grown increasingly hostile to Nkrumah's undemocratic regime, has been warned to mind its manners. Last year a number of critics, both African and European, were forced to resign from academic and administrative positions. Nkrumah became chancellor of the university and installed his loyal trouble-shooter, Nana Dr. Kobina Nketsia IV (a young Oxford-trained anthropologist) to be temporary vice-chancellor. Prodded by Geoffrey Bing, a left-wing Briton who has been Ghana's attorney-general, the University hired Allen Nunn May, the British atomic physicist and sometime spy for the Soviet Union, to teach physics, and installed a Polish professor as head of the economics faculty. More recently, Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien, of Eire and Katanga, has become vice-chancellor, with administrative responsibility for the university. His academic policies are not yet evident, but Nkrumah continues to watch carefully over his shoulder.

Ghana's economic plight is a source of constant worry. Ample reserves, built up under the British, have been dissipated on the trappings of modernity. The world demand for cocoa, on which Ghana depends, has been less favorable in recent years, and there are no prospects of major improvement. A massive US loan for the Volta Dam project – which will produce electricity to convert bauxite into aluminum – has helped to resuscitate Ghana's gasping pound. But the completed dam is a long way off.

On the Pan-African front, Nkrumah now officially regards federation as a reasonable step toward his projected United States of Africa (a dream which emanates from his university days in Pennsylvania). Heretofore the federation espoused by the moderate Monrovia and Brazzaville blocs has been anathema to Nkrumah. Even so, as he has moved to conciliate his rivals in tropical Africa on the ideological plane, some of his actions at home – however reasonable in the eyes of most Ghanan nationalists – have hurt his reputation abroad and strengthened his critics. The good name of Ghana is besmirched by prolonged detention without trial, by the permanent stifling of opposition, by the heavy-handed treatment of critics, and by the creation of a full-blown apparatus of state control which can only be labeled dictatorship.

SMOKING MAY PRODUCE CANCER; IT ALSO PRODUCES REVENUE

The Cigarette Scare

London

Disregarding the advice of the Royal College of Physicians, of a good many newspapers, and of more than one of his cabinet colleagues, Selwyn Lloyd has tamely passed up the chance to impose a penal tax on cigarette smokers in his budget. Chancellors of the Exchequer look after their own. Smokers contribute 822 million pounds a year in tax to the Treasury (or enough to meet just under half of British defense expenditure). It would be a most critical step, Lloyd warned the Commons, if he were really to save this selflessly patriotic section of the community from themselves. And, anyway, to differentiate between cigarettes

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(which the doctors particularly disapprove of) and pipes and cigars (to which they have given a partial thumbs-up) would be impossible – millions would merely start rolling their own. The idea of this massive home manufactory is, to say the least, improbable; and in some circles there might be social disincentives to the habit. But the chancellor did not bother to argue the toss. He moved swiftly on to raise 50 million pounds in a new tax on candy and ice cream: the rising generation may still end up fretting over lung cancer, coronaries and bronchitis, but a brush with Lloyd means sound teeth.

The physicians' report has not established more than the customary statistical connection between smoking and lung cancer. To no one's surprise, the manufacturers have been prodding at this loophole for all they are worth, and in so polluted an atmosphere as these smoggy islands, they may even have a case. But the statistics are frightening enough. The risk of dying from lung cancer, the doctors found, is 20 times greater for a heavy smoker (25 a day) in Britain than for a non-smoker. And, taking all forms of illness, one-third of heavy smokers can expect to die before they are 65, compared with only 15 percent of non-smokers. The findings have certainly frightened the doctors themselves; the proportion of doctors smoking cigarettes only has fallen off markedly in the past decade. Now the question is whether the government is seriously, or just platitudinously, committed to making everyone else give up too.

There have been earlier attempts at official discouragement, particularly directed at children, but with such exceptional portents as the Minister for Science, Lord Hailsham, talking darkly of breaking the heroin habit so why not the tobacco one as well, a shudder went through addicts (and stockholders) that this time it might be for real. The shares of the big manufacturers, Imperial Tobacco and Gallaghers, slumped briefly, not so much on the first news of the doctors' report but after full publicity for it had been given on the BBC's middle-brow current affairs program "Panorama." Still, the government's reaction has so far fallen short of what liberal editorial writers are demanding. The Minister of Education, Sir David Eccles, has told teachers not to be caught smoking anywhere near their pupils (a nice reversal of roles). The Minister of Health, Enoch Powell, announced that the report had "authoritatively and crushingly" demonstrated the causal connection between smoking and lung cancer; but he then contented himself with calling for publicity for the findings by all local health authorities, launching a poster campaign, and considering setting up an experimental anti-smoking clinic.

There are two main issues in the public debate. The first is whether the government, using its tax powers and with the National Health Service as a responsive instrument, should intervene much more purposefully if ministers are as convinced as they say of the cancer danger. For example, could, and should, anti-smoking pills be distributed on the national health for the nominal prescription charge (two shillings)? If hypnotism helps people who want to rid themselves of a disagreeable habit, should it not be provided at Powell's prospective clinics? The most familiar fiscal argument is that tobacco should be taxed as a social evil, as gin-drinking was in late Victorian England; the chancellor would lose in his budget after a year or two, but a non-smoking Britain would gain in the balance of trade – mostly in dollars. The difficulty with the liquor analogy is that both gin and cigarettes have roughly the same incidence of tax (or excise) already: some 400 percent. To penalize fags still more would be open to political interpretations as an attack on a lower-income group's solace and old-age pensioners' last comfort.

The second issue concerns the advertising industry, which has been lying pretty low. Liberals are strongly against any restriction or censorship of ads, even in this case, and they doubt whether the compulsory printing of nicotine content on every packet would really be much of a deterrent. But there is a growing feeling that children should be protected from part, at least, of the sales talk. One of the smaller cigarette manufacturers has actually undertaken to withdraw its vending machines, to stop children circumventing the law on under-age sales across the counters. And even the big boys have responded to public pressure and agreed to limit their advertising on commercial television to the two and a half hours of viewing after 9

LUNG CANCER IN THE US

A study published last week in the Journal of the National Cancer Institute *reports that on the basis of "a 10 percent sample of all lung-cancer deaths among whites occuring in the US during 1958" (about 3,000), the high correlation between smoking and the incidence of lung cancer requires "no further demonstration," but that "high lung-cancer risks" are especially marked in "two specific migrant groups: US farm-born, and foreign-born residents of large metropolitan centers." Prepared by William Haenszel of the Biometry Branch, National Cancer Institute, and Donald B. Loveland and Monroe G. Sirken of the US Public Health Service, the study suggests that lifetime residents of communities of all sizes run less risk of this disease than more mobile Americans.*

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p.m. Half the cigarette plugs are likely to be affected, and some 1.75 million pounds of commercials could be lost to the ad men (or taken over by other clients). A poster agency which refused to sanction a 1957 Ministry of Health warning against lung cancer has agreed to display a new (and softened-down) version.

Now everyone waits to see if any of these measures will really check the steady annual rise in tobacco consumption (with women increasingly taking to the weeds). The increases have not been curbed by a 100 percent increase since 1945 in the price of a standard pack of 20, and the new inhibitions appear for the moment to be only very small straws in a Virginia-laden wind.

Alastair Burnet

Automation, Clerks, Bookkeepers

by Phil Hirsch

1961 was another record year for the nation's computer manufacturers. Their sales totaled $1.5 billion, 50 percent more than in 1960. The next few years promise to be even better, and neither manufacturers nor the government is losing much sleep over the possibility that the automation of offices across the land may be reducing job opportunities for white collar workers: the shortage of good typists, bookkeepers, and clerks in many cities is apparently considered a permanent feature of the economy. Employment figures suggest otherwise, however. Within a few years, jobless clerks and bookkeepers may be at least as numerous as jobless coal miners and steel workers are today.

Although the need for office workers is growing, the rate of increase is dropping with meteoric speed. About 45 percent of the white collar labor force is composed of what the government calls "clerical and kindred workers" – of whom two out of three are women. Between 1940 and 1950, the number of women clerks and kindred workers rose 80 percent, but during the '50's, only 57 percent. The average annual increase, 1950-57, was 281,000; between 1957 and 1960, it was 150,000. Only 27,000 more women were employed in clerical and kindred occupations at the end of February, 1962 than at the end of February, 1961.

To those who equate automation with progress, these statistics reflect the interplay of natural market forces. White collar workers have been scarce ever since the '40's; now, the gap is being mechanically filled. Electronic data processing systems haven't taken anyone's job away, the argument runs; rather, they've enabled businessmen to keep on top of an ever-rising mountain of paperwork. The proof of this contention is the seemingly unassailable fact that relatively few of the white collar workers displaced by automation have actually been laid off.

But what about the unemployed, and those entering the labor force? Every bookkeeper and keypunch operator shifted to another job by a computer fills a position which otherwise would require an additional worker, and might support another family.

According to the Department of Labor, 25,000 new jobs will have to be found each week to keep up with a record growth in the labor force during this decade. Can anything like that number of jobs materialize when electronic brains are generating such a tremendous increase in productivity.

In 1956, according to testimony presented to a House of Representatives subcommittee, the US Treasury required a toal of 1,552 employees to process government checks. During the next few years, a vast computer system was installed; by 1959, the workforce was down to 803. It was estimated that without this electronic bookkeeping complex, 1,597 employees would be needed to do the same work. Office automation has done a good deal more than simply "keep up" with the increasing volume of paperwork.

The government probably isn't a special case. A Labor Department study of 20 private companies which automated their bookkeeping operations in 1956-57 revealed that the office staffs of these firms grew only seven percent over a four-year period before, during and after the changeovers; in the same period, the number of office workers employed by all US companies increased 15 percent.

Spokesmen for the US Chamber of Commerce and other business groups have said that the high cost of computers and their ancillary devices will keep automation from running away with white collar jobs. Much the same argument was made for production line "modernization" early in the '50's, but the subsequent growth of joblessness in such industries as coal, steel, and automobiles, which also happen to be among the most automated, has robbed this viewpoint of its plausibility. Two surveys conducted by the National Office Managers Association give additional data.

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NOMA's first survey, made in 1957, included nearly 4,000 companies. All of the respondents employed some form of mechanized or automated data processing. Eight percent of the banking firms surveyed had high-speed systems utilizing electronic or electromechanical equipment developed since the end of World War II; 13 percent of the insurance companies, eight percent of the petroleum producers, 25 percent of the electrical equipment manufacturers, and eight percent of the public utility firms were in this same category. For all manufacturing, the figure ranged from 10 to 25 percent.

Two years later, the office managers took their second census. Between 80 and 90 percent of the banking, insurance, and public utility firms surveyed had installed Electronic Data Processing equipment by this time. The pattern among manufacturers was similar. Among the companies queried in 1957 which had fewer than 100 employees, there were no EDP installations; by 1959, more than 60 percent had such equipment. In businesses with between 100 and 1,000 employees, 24 percent had EDP in 1957; 75 percent did in 1959.

These two surveys aren't precisely comparable, because the second covered a much smaller sample and was restricted to users of the more sophisticated kinds of automated bookkeeping equipment. But even if office automation has grown only half as fast as the above figures indicate, the implications for the supply of white collar jobs are still serious. Meanwhile, the equipment manufacturers' Research and Development teams are as busy as beavers. They've recently found ways of reading many kinds of business documents automatically and will probably develop a voice-operated typewriter within the next few years.

Neither the unions nor the government seem aware of what this "office revolution" means. According to J. Howard Hicks, secretary-treasurer of the Office Employees International Union, the way to keep white collar workers off the breadline is to train them for positions that won't be automated out of existence; those about to enter the labor force should be prepared for similar occupations while they're still in school. But no one can say which office jobs will survive automation's embrace. And even if the safe occupations were known, the time and money now being expended on educational measures is infinitesimal compared to need, and in many cases the enthusiasm of the potential candidates for such training is limited.

A higher gross national product probably won't make a great difference – the electronic bookkeeping equipment already in place has the capacity to do much more work. And within a few months, quite a few thousand young bookkeepers, typists, and clerks will pour out of the schools and into the labor market.

Khrushchev Could have Said It

by Morris K. Udall

"The John Birch Society is Communism's greatest ally. With its help we will divide and confuse the American people until they have lost faith in their government, their nation has ceased to be a major world power, and their country is ripe for revolution." – Nikita Khrushchev, 3½ years after his visit to the US.

Now there is a quotation for you. It would go well on postcards, envelope stickers and, in abbreviated form, on bumper strips and airplane streamers.

Of course, Khrushchev never said it, but apparently that doesn't matter, judging by some of the mail I have been receiving. The Russian premier is becoming one of this country's favorite authors. And a favorite in Congress too. It has become standard practice, whenever a legislative proposal nears decision, for someone to drop the "ultimate weapon" – the hundred megaton argument: first, a charge that the measure is "socialism" and, second, a quotation "proving" that an affirmative vote will actually be a vote for ultimate Soviet domination. One of the most popular blockbusters is the following: *"We cannot expect the Americans to jump from capitalism to Communism, but we can assist their elected leaders in giving Americans small doses of socialism, until they suddenly awake to find they have Communism."*

Those citing this remarkable statement invariably inform us that Khrushchev made it "three and a half months before his visit to the United States." They are, strangely enough, the same people who are always reminding us that Communists are devious and not to be trusted (who can deny it?), that Communists say one thing when they really intend the opposite (how true), and that anyone who believes what Khrushchev says about anything is a dupe or a fool, "or worse." Well,

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consistency, as we all know, is the hobgoblin of brittle minds, and so in this instance we are to accept Khrushchev's words as true gospel.

About a year ago, an Ohio State University professor looked askance at an advertisement run by a major American manufacturer which quoted Lenin as saying: "*We shall force the United States to spend itself to destruction.*"

Incredulous, the professor doggedly pursued the matter until the company was forced to acknowledge that Lenin really didn't make such a statement.

Remembering this, I decided to check on the more recent "quotes" of Khrushchev. I asked the Library of Congress where and when Khrushchev made his "small doses" statement. The Library reported:

"We have searched the Legislative Reference Service files, checked all the standard reference works on quotations by Khrushchev, and consulted with the Slavic division of the Library of Congress, the Department of State, and the US Information Agency, in an attempt to determine the authenticity of this quotation. From none of these sources were we able to produce evidence that Khrushchev actually made such a statement."

The Library of Congress notwithstanding, this statement continued to pop up. For instance, it was featured on page one of *Common Sense*, an angry little publication which bills itself as "America's Newspaper Against Communism," in its January, 1962, issue.

Mr. Conde McGinley, editor, replied to a letter of inquiry: "As I remember, we took this from a very reliable publication, but I do not remember that it gave the date that Khrushchev stated this. Ordinarily, we like to have the date, *but this was so good, that we were tempted to run it.*" [Italics mine]

Then some slick, plasticized cards came to my office from Coast Federal Savings in Los Angeles, "distributed as a public service." Mr. Khrushchev's remark about "small doses of socialism," beginning to acquire fame, was emblazoned in (what else?) red, along with the usual comment about "three and a half months before his visit to the US." According to the cards, additional copies were available from the Curt Advertising Agency, Los Angeles. A letter to Curt produced a reply from S. A. Adair, "acting director, economics and education," of Coast Federal Savings. Said Mr. Adair:

"As to the source of the statement: we are told that it was included in a speech he delivered to a workmen's group in one of the satellite countries, approximately three and one-half months before his visit to the United States, in 1959. We are still searching for the exact date, but translations of the USSR news agencies are not always easily obtainable. When we do pinpoint the statement, we shall be glad to let you know."

"Meanwhile," added Adair, "I am sending you a copy of a *Time* Magazine article, which contains a very similar statement by the Communist leader."

Mr. Adair's sense of comparison seems a little liberal. The statement in *Time* he marks as being "very similar" to the "small doses" quotation reads: "Society cannot leap into Communism from capitalism without going through a socialist stage of development." This "socialist" stage, of course, is what Khrushchev says the Soviet Union has been in since 1917.

However, unlike *Common Sense*, Coast Federal Savings could provide a source – none other than the *Congressional Record*. Mr. Adair said the quotation appears on page 12622 of the issue of July 26, 1961. I turned quickly to that page and found it. It was used as one of the mainstays in the famous assault by Sen. J. Strom Thurmond on the Defense Department for "muzzling the military." The point was that the public-speaking talents of our military men "might well" be needed to make America aware that social legislation is socialism, and socialism is Communism.

Feeling certain that at last I would be able to verify the statement I wrote Senator Thurmond, asking him for his source. To date I have not received a reply.

But let us assume, for purposes of this discussion, that Khrushchev did say what he is said to have said. What follows? Either:

1. He truly hopes we will enact what some people call "little doses of socialism," thereby paving the way for Communism in this country, or

2. He hopes by this statement to frighten us from instituting those programs which will strengthen our society and make the onset of Communism more difficult or impossible.

Either conclusion is plausible.

Once we have settled on a preferred interpretation, we once again are presented with two possibilities:

a. that Khrushchev's prediction of the ultimate effect will prove correct, or

b. that it will prove incorrect.

Those who regard Khrushchev as a superman (and it is surprising how many "100 percent Americans" take this view) will choose (a); the rest of us will probably divide up about 50-50 behind (a) and (b).

There is one further complication. Since Khrushchev nowhere defines for us what he might mean by "little doses of socialism," we're at a loss to know what the measures are we should avoid or enact (depending on which decision we made earlier).

One of these days, when we're in the midst of a serious flu epidemic, Khrushchev is liable to say that Americans ought to be given "small doses of penicillin." Then where will we be?

MORRIS K. UDALL *is a freshman Congressman who represents the Second District of Arizona.*

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"Intruding Fool, Farewell"

In the latitude of Baltimore the azaleas, this somewhat tardy spring, are just passing their peak, and the indescribable riot of color is viewed by *Homo* self-styled *sapiens* with a complacency as bland as if he had really been invited and the show staged for him.

Yet it has been a century and better since Charles Darwin plainly told us that azalea is intent only upon its own survival and the magnificence it displays is for the eyes of bees, not those of men. The existence of *Homo* is an irrelevance in the life-cycle of azalea, but *Apis mellifera* is a factor of utmost importance and to attract her attention and entice her presence is worth setting the landscape gloriously ablaze when spring comes back again.

The flower attracts the bee. Its nectar entices her to probe. In probing she is unwittingly laden with pollen which she transmits to the next flower, thus insuring that azalea will decorate the earth as it did before Man intruded and as it probably will after he has gone.

None of which we believe.

Oh, the facts are well enough established and intellectually we accept them as we accept the deluge of other facts that industrious scientists are releasing upon us every day; but viscerally we reject the whole kit and caboodle, thereby establishing without the aid of science the fact that *sapiens* as applied to our species is a cosmic irony.

Such dismal reflections are inspired by the news that the United States of America has resumed the practice of seeding the clouds with death, and not death as mercifully swift oblivion but, as the Mikado said, "something lingering, with boiling oil in it." Only what is in ours is worse than boiling oil. It is fire in the bones that creeps leisurely toward some vital center, destroying the victim's humanity before it destroys his body.

This we say we must do in order to assure our survival. But is our survival worth the price? Not to the azalea and the honey-bee, we may rest assured. A doubt intrudes that it is worth it to the Malayan and the Burmese. Our survival is worth that price to ourselves alone; and if we survive by the process of poisoning the air that men of many other nations must breathe we shall survive in a loneliness beyond imagination.

We have been driven to this pass by other members of our own species, the group that long ago brought to perfection the loathsome art of the *agent provocateur*. Generations before the Secret Army in Algiers adopted the cynicism of trying to incite the Moslems to a revolt that would bring destruction upon them, the regime of the Czars knew all about it.

Khrushchev has taken the calculated risk of inciting us to action that he hopes and believes will bring upon us the just resentment of a large part of mankind. The Moslem Algerians have thus far defeated the hopes of the Secret Army by a marvelous demonstration of self-control. It would seem that we have not developed the patience – or is it the astonishing shrewdness? – of Islam. We have reacted as the Russians expected – perhaps even wanted. It remains to be seen whether or not the rest of mankind will also react as they expect, but the risk is considerable and our having been driven to accept it is no compliment to the ingenuity of our statecraft. Neither in the Kremlin nor in the Pentagon is *Homo* any too *sapiens*. Is the fount of wisdom to be sought in the Casbah?

Not that it matters to the blossom and the bee, or will interrupt to the smallest division of time the precession of the equinoxes and the annual return of spring. Those matters would seem to have been arranged without the slighest reference to the convenience of *Homo*, and if they are his solace and delight it is because he attributes to himself the importance claimed by the fly on the chariot wheel, who marveled at the dust he was raising.

There is no comfort in reverting to Genesis, for there it is written, "the Lord God took the man, and put him into the garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it." If, instead, he despoils and destroys it, shall he not bring upon himself a wrath by comparison with which the utmost fury of the heathen is but a zephyr?

Far more comfortable it is to assume that if we go on in our witless way and effect the elimination of our species it will not greatly matter, for others are pretty sure to survive. Azalea will probably be here, and *Apis mellifera*, to conduct the business of nature as before; nor will anything take the trouble to write for vanished *Homo*, the epitaph of Polonius: "Thou wretched, rash, intruding fool, farewell."

But we cannot believe that the pageant of May was devised for anything other than our delight; else we might grow sapient enough to survive and enjoy an infinite succession of springs.

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The World of Gardiner Means

by Bernard Nossiter

While the President was testing the powers of his office against the power of the steel producers, a 65-year-old economist who came to Washington with the New Deal was publishing a book that explores the limitations of market forces in concentrated industries and proposes an imaginative replacement tailored to the habits of big business. Like all of Gardiner Coit Means' work, *Pricing Power and the Public Interest* reflects the author's empirical habits. A successful businessman (he once ran a textile mill and later developed a profitable line of grass plugs), he has always had a taste for examining the economy as it is rather than as it ought to behave according to orthodox precepts.

Pricing Power and the Public Interest
by Gardiner Means
(Harper; $7.50)

At Columbia University Law School in 1928, a young professor, Adolph A. Berle invited Gardiner Means to join him in a fresh look at the economy as it is. Instead of countless small producers in every industry, they found much of the economic landscape dominated by a few hundred large corporations: "A society in which production is governed by blind economic forces is being replaced by one in which production is carried on under the ultimate control of a few individuals." So they wrote in 1932, in *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*.

Their second important insight was this: ownership and control were no longer one. In the great corporations, tens and hundreds of thousands of stockholders own the enterprise, but it is operated and controlled by a largely self-perpetuating group of managers who may or may not own an appreciable fraction of the shares.

Now accepted as commonplace, these concepts provided a rationale for the heightened Government intervention of the New Deal and freshened the spirit of regulation then in the air. If stockholders have handed over control to managers, they have freed society from protecting their exclusive claim to the fruits of corporate enterprise; as for the controlling managers, neither tradition, law nor history entitles them to absolute power over the corporation. "They have placed the community in a position to demand that the modern corporation serve not alone the owners or the control but all society," Berle and Means concluded.

This was the demand President Kennedy made on the steel masters in April, 1962.

In the early 1930's, while the world struggled to escape from the great depression that was shaking capitalism to its foundations, the classically trained economists wrestled to fit facts to orthodox theory. Public policy was in disarray. Classical theory had taught that when demand fell, prices and wages should fall and resources would once again be employed. But the actual effects of the drastic fall in prices on farmers was a disastrous fall in income! The New Deal's AAA was largely devoted to the proposition that farm prices should be prevented from falling and should be raised; the NRA was its analogue for businessmen.

Means and other economists were struck by the fact that some prices were more classical than others, that while farm prices had fallen sharply, many industrial prices – those in the great corporate industries – had fallen very little. Working for the Department of Agriculture, Means studied the behavior of 747 prices. This led him to his second major advance, the notion of administered prices.

There are, he found, two principal kinds of prices. One price is set in competitive markets and changes frequently in response to changes in demand. The other is set by administrative action and held constant for varying periods of time, despite changes in demand. Farm prices are typical market prices. Cement prices are typically administered.

In an administered market, an increase in demand leads to an increase in output. When demand falls, as it did during the great depression, the price is largely held and output is slashed. This characteristic of rigid prices, Means concluded, was the basic cause of the depression's depth. As demand fell, output instead of price was cut; men were thrown out of work, and their loss of income further reduced total demand.

In his study, Means was ambiguous about the link between concentration and administered prices. This ambiguity led many critics to dismiss his findings as unimportant and assert that virtually all prices in the modern economy are "administered," if "administered" merely means posting a price and holding it constant for some time. The critics ignored what Means made clear further in his report, that the prices he was concerned with, those that were worsening the depression, were the prices administered by the dominant few in an industry. While these dominant few are not entirely immune from competition, they have significant power over their prices because of their control over output. This discretion has limits; it is affected by changes in demand, the competition of substitute products (aluminum for steel, for example) and the competition of a few peers. (When Bethlehem Steel broke ranks, US Steel had to come down too.) The point, however, is that producers in concentrated industries can and do hold a price when demand falls and force production to bear the burden of this change. They can also increase a price without any change in demand, or even when demand falls, by slashing output. The industry's largest firm is usually the price leader and the smaller giants follow the leader's pricing up and down. It took an unprecedented

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peacetime attack by Mr. Kennedy to break this pattern – at least for the moment – in the steel industry.

Despite the recent indictment of the four steel companies, criminal collusion is not necessary to assure identical price movements and market sharing. If the output of the dominant producers is more or less standardized and manufactured in long production runs – autos, steel beams, electric toasters – live-and-let-live practices can be achieved by following the public moves of the price leader. But when a product is custom-made for a single order, corporate "competitors" are led to illegal meetings in hotel rooms.

The steel indictment dealt with just such custom-made products, heavy forgings; similarly, the electrical machinery makers pleaded guilty to a conspiracy involving generators for TVA and other one-shot products.

However impressed they were with Means' findings, New Deal economists and policymakers were divided about its implications. Some thought the answer was vigorous trust busting to restore the pre-corporate conditions of classical markets. Others thought of replacing the concentrated market with regulation. Others entertained both ideas. But the great ferment of economic speculation and experiment in the 30's subsided with the outbreak of World War II. An enormous outpouring of Government spending ended unemployment; instead of tumbling prices, the problem was to keep a lid on and prevent runaway inflation.

After the war, economists in the main stream turned their attention to the economy as a whole, rather than problems of the single firm or industry. Some worked to put flesh on the remarkable monetary and fiscal skeleton left by Keynes. Others, entranced with middle-brow mathematics, translated economic theory into mathematical expressions. Gardiner Means, concentration and administered prices, were forgotten. Since the war had seemed to confirm Keynes' advocacy of taxing, spending and credit policies to reach full employment, this was perfectly understandable.

In the early postwar years, high employment was still not a pressing problem. Any deficiency that might have developed in demand – as in 1948-49 – was obliterated by the renewed burst of Government outlays in the Korean War. The principal worry was inflation; prices were rising at an alarming rate. And for this, the classicists had an explanation to which there seemed no rebuttal. In over-crude form, they held that inflation resulted from too much money chasing too few goods. Therefore, reduce the money supply, tighten credit, avoid budget deficits like the plague and create Government surpluses. The election of Eisenhower to the Presidency in 1952 promised that this theory would be applied. Attempts were made to do so.

But something was still going wrong: there was no deep depression, yet the high employment of the war and postwar years vanished. Repeated, brief recessions choked off recoveries too soon. The slumps of 1953-4, 1957-8 and 1960-1 ended with the number and percentage of jobless at succeedingly higher levels. Just as mysterious, this deliberately induced slackness of demand had not pulled prices down. Indeed, from 1953 to 1958, industrial prices at wholesale rose steadily and consumer prices crept up in their wake.

Since men and machines were idle in greater or less amounts all during the Eisenhower era, this clearly was not a case of too much money chasing too few goods. Thinkers on the right had their reflex answer, a contemporary variant of the one they offered in the great depression. The fault was labor's. Unions not only make wage rates rigid or sticky, they force them higher even when demand is falling. If unions would exercise restraint, inflation would end and full employment follow.

This prescription found little favor with unionists. Many others were dubious, too, although most dispassionate observers today believe that the big industrial unions must bear some responsibility for the rise in prices.

At this point, Means' forgotten work was revived. In 1957, Sen. Estes Kefauver became chairman of the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee. He picked two refugees from the hobbled Federal Trade Commission, Paul Rand Dixon and John Blair, as his chief counsel and chief economist. Blair had long been interested in Gardiner Means. He had put in seven years of weekend labor to produce a pair of articles for professional journals rebutting Means' academic critics. Blair and Dixon convinced Kefauver to embark on what promised to be a tedious investigation of administered prices.

Blair and his chief assistant, E. Wayles Browne, suspected that the dominant firms in concentrated industries were raising their prices despite a lack of supporting demand. This in turn, they believed, was reducing output and causing unemployment. If they were right, then attempts to check prices by monetary measures would only succeed in making unemployment worse.

Kefauver's Subcommittee patiently gathered 30 volumes of testimony and reports from makers of steel, autos, drugs and bread. Most of the press paid little attention, but thoughtful students on Capitol Hill, in the Federal Reserve System and in the universities began taking notice. In the last few years, no respectable explanation of the new inflation – inflation at less than high employment – has been complete without reference to the market power of firms and unions in industries where competition is among the few; this line of thought runs through the economic reports and tactics of the Kennedy Administration.

Meanwhile, Means had emerged briefly from obscurity (he had been working for the business-supported Committee for Economic Development) to help lay the Kefauver Subcommittee's theoretical foundations. He produced a set of charts that illustrated in strikingly graphic fashion how nearly all the price increases of the middle 1950's had occurred in the concentrated, administered price industries.

Most of Means' time, however, was spent working alone at his Vienna, Va. farm on this new book. Buttressed by the findings of the Kefauver inquiry and a few studies of actual pricing goals of large corporations, Means presents this story: The big corporation does not price its products to maximize its profits over the short-run – a ruling assumption of classical theory; it prices with much longer-run considerations in mind. A General Motors, for example, attempts to set and hold a price that will yield a specific target rate of 20 percent on its net worth after taxes when the company is producing at an average rate of capacity. This capacity rate or standard volume is the percent-

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age of its potential output which the company expects to average over several years. For GM, this standard volume is 180 days and the corporation fixes prices to get its 20 percent on output of this size. In a year of national boom, demand for cars is stronger than average, production runs continue for more than 180 days, and profits will be larger than the target 20 percent. In a slump year, GM won't produce 180 days output; profits will drop below the target.

How high will the target rate of profit be set? According to Means, just high enough to avoid attracting some new competitor to the industry. This level is found by trial and error. But Means also suggests that additional considerations govern the height of the target. For example, the price a company requires must not be so high that it draws the fire of the Government and consumers generally. The cardinal rule, however, is a profit rate that won't attract new firms.

The consequences of target pricing, Means shows, are the very opposite of the happy results that flow from a classically competitive system with its impersonal interaction of supply and demand. Administered prices in concentrated industries are higher because they must yield, at the standard volume, a profit well above the competitive rate of return for capital. These premium prices, higher than those that would obtain in classical markets, yield premium incomes to the corporations – incomes higher than they would receive in classical markets. The concentrated corporations are now earning more than they need to induce owners of capital to invest.

Premium earnings spare the corporations from seeking new investment capital, as the case of steel has shown. Most corporations now pay for the bulk of their expansion from profits they retain. Blough of US Steel insisted his chief reason for the abortive April price increase was to get bigger earnings to finance new machinery. Yet in the first 15 postwar years, US Steel expanded its gross plant and equipment by $4.8 billion, of which only $642 million – about one dollar in seven – was raised from outside sources.

Is this not a tacit admission of maldistributed rewards? The corporation's customers involuntarily supply capital for expansion by paying premium prices. The passive stockholders have this capital credited to their account – the asset value underlying their shares rises – without further investing.

Such premium prices and premium profits of the large corporations, Means observes, offer an inviting target for unions which themselves long ago ended classical competition in the labor market – if it ever existed. Unions in concentrated industries extract wage increases that exceed their members' increasing contribution or gain in productivity; the big corporations simply raise their prices to cover higher costs and maintain their target rate of profits. To be sure, this leads to the employment of fewer unionized workers, but that is labor's parallel to industry's limiting output and raising prices.

Finally, concentration and target pricing tend to inhibit technological progress and the introduction of new production techniques. This sounds paradoxical because most business research is conducted by the large corporations. But Means demonstrates that some of this research is left stillborn in the corporate laboratories or emerges after

The Antimacassar and the Ottoman

"I am leaving this house as soon as I can,"
Said the Antimacassar to the Ottoman.
"I hate this room, I loathe this chair,
I can't stand people's oily hair,
I long for a breath of mountain air.
I will fly away to Turkistan;
Will you come with me, dear Ottoman?"

The Ottoman sighed and said: "Oh, man!
I will certainly go with you if I can.
I, too, am sick of this overstuffed chair
And want nothing more than a breath of air!
I'm weary of having my praises sung
By an ugly pot of Mother-in-law's tongue!
Give me a mountain's twisted shapes
For the arsenic green of those green drapes;
Give me the green of a foreign land
For the green of that green umbrella stand!
I daily see a dreadful menace
In that awful painted scene of Venice
That glows at night like dead desire
Above an artificial fire.
I know by heart the sad tweet-tweets
Of those pale sky-blue parakeets!
And all I can hear is a high-pitched snicker
From that chaise-longue of painted wicker!
The African violets are wet,
They haven't dried their pink eyes yet;
Day after day their hot tears come
Across the cold linoleum!
They *loathe* this room as much as I!
Tears, idle tears! *I* cannot cry.
Do let us go – do let us fly!"

But an Ottoman it cannot fly,
And an Antimacassar – who knows why? –
Is pinned in permanence to a chair.
So when morning came, they both were there;
And no window opened to let in the air,
And neither had flown to Turkistan –
The Antimacassar nor the Ottoman.

William Jay Smith

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long delays. A new machine, he reasons, will be introduced only if it promises to cut down on the expenses of running an existing machine by an amount equal to or higher than the target profits rate. If the competitive rate of return is eight percent, it makes sense to substitute a new machine that will save this much. But if a corporation sets a target rate of profit of 16 percent, a new machine must leap a much higher hurdle. It doesn't make sense to employ the new machine until it can save at least 16 percent. So, old techniques and machines are kept in use longer than they would be if the rules of classical competition prevailed. The slow introduction of the oxygen converter process in the American steel industry is a typical example.

Means focuses on the steel industry as an example of the unhappy consequences that flow from existing administered price practices.

Through elaborate calculations that need not concern us here, Means concludes that the 100 percent price rise in steel between 1942 and 1953 did not result in raising the industry's comparatively low rate of return. The price rise, he figures, was simply enough to cover the increased labor, material and other costs of producing a ton of steel plus the costs of increased taxes and investment. The industry was merely reacting to a classical monetary inflation resulting from the war.

But from 1953 on, a different record was written. Under the stimulus of stock options for corporate managers – options that were given privileged tax treatment by a 1950 amendment to the tax code – steel industry managers deliberately set out to raise their profit target. They succeeded.

Means estimates that only about a sixth of the 36 percent increase in steel price since 1953 can be traced to higher labor costs for each ton of steel. Not quite a quarter of the increase resulted from increased costs of materials and expanded investment per ton. The remainder, three-fifths of $20 a ton, went to widen profit margins and double the target rate.

Here is the answer to the dilemma of the Eisenhower years. If steel and steel-using manufacturers had held their prices from 1953 to 1959, the index of wholesale prices would have risen only 1.5 percent. Instead it rose 8.5 percent and would have increased more had it not been for a sharp drop in farm prices. The Eisenhower Administration and the Federal Reserve Board insisted on treating this price rise as a classical inflation. They refused to underwrite the burgeoning price increases with increased money – a policy that might have brought full employment and also a raging inflation. Instead, by cutting federal spending and tightening credit, they choked monetary demand before high employment was reached, thus braking the upswings and converting them to downswings. On a lesser scale, the British have been acting in much the same way under the Conservatives. By refusing to treat the causes of this inflation, administered prices and wages, the Eisenhower officials checked prices through increased unemployment and slower economic growth. This does not mean that monetary and fiscal policy are to be junked. They remain our most powerful tools to curb monetary inflation, promote employment and speed up growth. But their effective use, Means shows, is inhibited in an administered inflation.

What then is to be done? Means rejects a classical answer, trust-busting to restore classical competition. Modern technology, he asserts, demands large units. Even if they need not be as large as US Steel, he argues, creation of a Big 24 in place of a Big 4 would only carve up the premium profits; it would not reduce the premium prices.

Except in industries like telephone and electric power, where classical monopoly is necessary, Means rejects public utility regulation. Regulation, he argues, stifles flexible decision-making, reduces incentives to cut costs and inhibits boldness. Moreover, the history of regulation indicates that the regulators become in time the pawns of the corporate managers they are supposed to oversee.

Instead, Means proposes to give corporation managers a tax-privileged bonus for setting target profit rates (and hence their prices) at a level consistent with the public interest rather than at a level just high enough to keep out new competitors. This public-interest level ought to be the competitive cost of capital, high enough to attract new funds and no more – perhaps eight percent. In a normal year when the standard volume is produced or sold, managers would earn the bonus by making the new target rate; in recession years, they would earn the bonus by making some fixed return below the target; in boom years, they would have to make more than the target profit rate to qualify. To provide incentives to cut costs, some portion of the bonus would depend on the efficiency or cost-cutting measures managers had introduced, much like the bonuses corporations now give their second echelon executives.

Only those corporations whose size and pricing power are so great that their pricing power is vested with a public interest would be eligible for the tax-privileged bonus. Means thinks that about 200 industrial corporations who own more than half the assets of all manufacturers would qualify. The bonus systems would require approval by the Treasury to make sure that the managers' goals were not too easy and that the profits targets were close to the competitive cost of capital or whatever definition is adopted for "public interest."

Many who accept Means' diagnosis are likely to question his remedy. It involves Government judgment of the cost of capital, an appropriate standard volume and appropriate measures of efficiency. In effect, Means would second guess the judgment of corporate managers with the judgment of Government officials. Some of the disadvantages of utility regulation would occur, although this scheme would not impede rapid decision-making because the Government's review would take place after the fact.

Whatever the flaws in his proposed solution, Means has once again brilliantly illuminated the inability of corporate managers, wedded to shibboleths drawn from classical theory, to make decisions that serve the public welfare. President Kennedy's explosion against the steel industry underscores Means' point. In the words of Roger Blough, the Administration has assumed "the role of informal price-setters for steel." But it has done so without reference to any standards except a simple desire to hold the line. If corporate behavior is to reflect the desirable goals of the classical world, as Means makes clear, some new institutional arrangements are required.

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Man With a Toy Gun

by Wilson Pollock

Following in Dashiell Hammett's footsteps, Raymond Chandler brought a new vigor to detective fiction. His books sold in the millions but they were detective stories not serious literature, and so he was never invited to join the Boys in the Back Room, not even for a short beer. He died in La Jolla, California, March 26, 1959, at the age of 70. *Raymond Chandler Speaking* is a collection of excerpts from letters to friends, publishers, agents, and others during the forties and fifties. It also contains an unpublished short story, two articles, and the opening chapters of a new Philip Marlowe novel called *The Poodle Springs Story* which he did not live to finish.

Raymond Chandler Speaking
Edited by Dorothy Gardiner
and Katharine Sorley Walker
(Houghton Mifflin; $4)

Chandler began writing seriously in the thirties after losing a job with a California oil company. He wrote for money from the very beginning and he sold stories with titles like "Blackmailers Don't Shoot," "Nevada Gas," and "Guns at Cyrano's" to magazines with names like *Black Mask* and *Dime Detective Monthly*. In 1939 he published his first full-length book, *The Big Sleep*, and in 1943 he went to Hollywood. No one could accuse him of selling out.

He was no intellectual and although some of his work might seem to reveal a political conscience it wasn't there. "There was even a bird," he writes, "who informed me I could write a good proletarian novel; in my limited world there is no such animal, and if there were, I am the last mind in the world to like it, being by tradition and long study a complete snob." He merely believed that society was corrupt, that the only god was the fast easy buck, and that there was not very much any one could do about it. "The only difference I can see [between American big business and Russian Communism] is that in Russia when you begin to slip a little they either shoot you or send you to a forced labor camp, whereas in the United States they ask you for your resignation or else force you to give it without being asked by humiliating you beyond endurance." He accepted Hollywood's big money without feeling anything like guilt; he seems to have liked the movies if not necessarily the men who made them. In one of the articles included here, "Writers in Hollywood" he tells the well-known story of the hamstrung screenwriter. "The impulse to perfection cannot exist where the definition of perfection is the arbitrary decision of authority. That which is born in loneliness and from the heart cannot be defended against the judgement of a committee of sycophants." He was in the thick of the celluloid at the time, but the tone was detached. "My agent was told by the Paramount story editor that it [the article] has done me a lot of harm with the producers at Paramount." He is not impressed. "Charlie Brackett said: 'Chandler's books are not good enough nor his pictures bad enough to justify that article' . . . I would reply to Mr. Brackett that if my books had been any worse I should not have been invited to Hollywood and that if they had been any better, I should not have come . . ."

He thought occasionally about writing serious novels, stories, and toward the end, a serious play, but he never did very much about it. The serious story included here is about a couple of people who slowly and painfully come to realize that they are not writers. It is like the work of a bright young man trying to break into the little magazines. Chandler wrote it when he was 63 and it is no wonder that it was never published. It was too late.

Drugstore literature of the kind he wrote is consumed by juvenile delinquent and dowager alike and Chandler knew it. It was pretty raw stuff sometimes, but he was never one of those "writers of comic strips like Mickey Spillane." Auden, in an article on the detective story called "The Guilty Vicarage" said that Chandler was "interested in writing serious studies of a criminal milieu." Chandler's comment on this was: "So now I look at everything I put down and say to myself, Remember, old boy, this has to be a serious study of a criminal milieu. Are you serious? No. Is this a criminal milieu? No, just average corrupt living with the melodramatic angle overemphasized, not because I am crazy about melodrama for its own sake, but because I am realistic enought to know the rules of the game."

In a letter to one of his readers who wants to know more about Philip Marlowe he writes about his detective-hero as if he were a very good friend. He describes Marlowe's education, smoking and drinking habits, attitudes toward women, the lay-out of his apartment. Then in another letter he writes, ". . . if being in revolt against a corrupt society constitutes being immature, then Philip Marlowe is extremely immature. If seeing dirt where there is dirt constitutes an inadequate social adjustment, then Philip Marlowe has an inadequate social adjustment. Of course Marlowe is a failure and he knows it. He is a failure because he hasn't any money. A man who without physical handicaps cannot make a decent living is always a failure because their particular talents did not suit their time and place. In the long run we are all failures or we wouldn't have the kind of world we have." It comes as a letdown when Chandler writes, "But you must remember that Marlowe is not a real person. He is a creature of fantasy. He is in a false position because I put him there. In real life a man of his type would no more be a private detective then he would be a university don."

Chandler was interested in everything but what he cared about most was his wife Cissy who was 18 years younger than he was and died five years before he did. "She was the beat of my heart for 30 years. She was the music heard faintly at the edge of sound. It was my great and now useless regret that I never wrote anything really worth her attention, no book that I could dedicate to her. I planned it. I thought of it but I never wrote it. Perhaps I couldn't have written it." And three years later ". . . I wasn't faithful to my wife out of principal but because she was completely adorable, and the urge to

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stray which afflicts many men at a certain age, because they think they have been missing a lot of beautiful girls, never touched me. I already had perfection."

Chandler attempted suicide in 1955, a little more than a year after his wife's death. According to the editors of this book one of Chandler's friends described it as being "the most inefficient effort at suicide on record." He writes about it frankly here in one of these carefully edited letters. Too carefully edited. Chandler may not have been as hardboiled as Marlowe but he had guts, and it doesn't seem right that guts should be represented in a man's last work by three dots.

He knew the language of the underworld the way Ring Lardner knew the language of baseball. "How do you tell a man to go away in hard language? Scram, beat it, take off, take the air, on your way, dangle, hit the road, and so forth. All good enough. But give me the classic expression used by Spike O'-Donnell (of the O'Donnell brothers of Chicago, the only small outfit to tell the Capone mob to go to hell and live). What he said was, 'Be missing'." And in the same letter Chandler says he is sure that O'Neill borrowed the phrase "the big sleep" for *The Iceman Cometh* thinking that it was an underworld expression. But Chandler had made it up.

It is only natural that Hemingway's name should come up. Chandler defends *Across the River and Into the Trees* against what most people were saying about it at the time and are still saying. "Candidly, it's not the best thing he's done, but it's still a hell of a sight better than anything his detractors could do." Chandler and Hemingway had more in common than Humphrey Bogart. "The Killers" could almost be a "Black Mask" story except that the ending would probably have cost the author a rejection slip. *To Have and Have Not* is not very much better than *Farewell, My Lovely*. The biggest difference is that Hemingway also wrote *A Farewell to Arms*. It's too bad that Chandler and Hemingway never got together. But maybe they didn't have to.

The Dilemna of the Western Alliance

by Morton H. Halperin

The fundamental change in America's approach to the world, represented by NATO, is startlingly indicated by the subtitle of this book – *The Entangling Alliance*. As Robert Osgood's analysis makes clear, the history of the alliance is a history of the failure to develop a reasonable strategy to carry out a joint decision to defend Europe against military aggression. In one sense the alliance has served as a symbol of the American commitment to defend the continent with its strategic nuclear forces. But as the range of alternatives has narrowed for which the strategic strike threat can be made credible, and as the ability of the Europeans to contribute to their own defense has increased, the problem of developing a sensible military strategy has become acute. The failure to develop a comprehensive NATO strategy is in part the result of the lack of political will to do so. Rather than trying to resolve differences, the tendency has been to sweep differences under the rug and to stress the political unity of the NATO countries. However, the disparity between NATO strategy and reality is becoming such that, as Osgood makes clear, NATO is likely to be in serious trouble unless it does develop a comprehensive military strategy.

NATO: The Entangling Alliance
by Robert Endicott Osgood
(Chicago; $7.50)

Osgood argues that the *raison d'être* of the NATO alliance is the military defense of Europe and hence the success or failure of NATO will depend on its developing a military strategy which each of the nations feels is contributing to its security. In doing so, he puts too much emphasis on the military. In fact, the most heartening signs of cooperation and cohesion have been in the economic field, and it would seem that greater political cohesion is a prerequisite for the development of a suitable military strategy rather than something which will follow from a joint strategic policy. In focusing on the military components of the alliance, Osgood is unable to explore the possible impact of closer economic cooperation.

However, within the limits he sets for himself, the author has done admirably in spelling out the nature of the security dilemma facing the Western alliance. In his chapters on strategic and tactical nuclear weapons, he brings home the point that NATO has never decided on the extent to which it wished to rely on either the threat of an American strategic strike or on the threat of tactical nuclear weapons for the defense of Europe. Yet these two questions are vital. Osgood suggests that we first need to agree on procedures for controlling nuclear weapons within NATO. I would argue that unless the decision is made to rely exclusively on conventional forces to deter or defend against a Soviet conventional attack, an adequate rationale for the NATO shield forces cannot be developed. Nor will the problem of the possible diffusion of nuclear weapons to other NATO countries or the establishment of a NATO strategic force be resolved until limits on the utility of nuclear weapons is accepted by the European members of the alliance.

In his chapter on disengagement, Osgood departs most clearly from the general consensus among American strategists. Accepting the need to increase the *relative* size of NATO conventional forces as opposed to those of the Soviet Union, he concludes that there is very little possibility of substantially increasing the size of NATO forces. He thus looks to disengagement as a means of reducing the size of Soviet forces in Europe and of reducing the danger of a conventional attack. At this point Osgood seems to me both too optimistic about the political prospects of disengagement, and too pessimistic about developing a NATO conventional capability sufficient to deal with any Soviet conventional threat. Recently the Pentagon has begun to look seriously at the question of what the actual Soviet capability is and what would be required to deal effectively with it. Press reports indicate that we may have underestimated NATO capability and overestimated Soviet strength in Europe. There remains a real possi-

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bility that if the European NATO countries became convinced of the importance of a conventional capability capable of holding even a large-scale attack that they could develop one.

Osgood's book then is a valuable exploration and summary of the historical evolution and current status of a number of strategic problems facing the NATO alliance. In one sense, he is trying to do too much in seeking to provide a history of the evolution of strategy, an analysis of the political problems of developing an effective strategy and a discussion of the substance of strategy. The structure and form of the book is seriously affected by this and it is not always entirely clear what his point is. In addition, his format of treating one problem at a time has led to unnecessary repetition. In another sense, as I noted above, Osgood too narrowly confines himself to the military strategic problems of the alliance. For both these reasons he has not developed a comprehensive proposal for NATO strategy. What he has done is to raise a number of important strategic issues which continue to plague the alliance.

An Old-Fashioned Radical

by James E. Watson

In the 1870's when Emma Goldman was a young girl growing up in the ghettos of Russia and Lithuania, her father disgusted with her desire for learning, threw her books on the floor and shouted: "All a Jewish girl needs to know is how to prepare gefüllte fish, cut noodles fine, and give the man plenty of children!" It did no good. His daughter was soon to read Turgenev's *Father and Sons* and Chernyshevsky's *What Is to Be Done?* She was to have brief contact with radical students at St. Petersburg. And, in 1885, at the age of 16, she fled Russia for Rochester, New York. It was in America that her rebellion came to full flower.

Rebel in Paradise
by Richard Drinnon
(Chicago; $5.95)

The first full-length account of a remarkable crusader records the far-flung activities of a woman whose biographer at first regarded her as too outlandish to be taken seriously. But after exploring her campaigns for anarchism, birth control, free speech, free love, feminism, and the "new drama"; her opposition to economic privilege, war and militarism Drinnon concludes, ". . . my skepticism was pseudo-sophistication and my condescension was only conventional ignorance."

Emma Goldman was more a rebel than a revolutionary. The "paradise" in the book's title is used ironically. She soon found factory conditions in the United States were little better than those in Russia; she was appalled at the unfair trial given to anarchists convicted in the Haymarket tragedy in 1886; a hostile press referred to her as the most dangerous radical in America. In a country where thousands listened to her spellbinding speeches, she encountered not only "vigilante authoritarianism," which led to the tarring and sagebrushing (in lieu of feathers) or her manager in San Diego in 1912; she also met "bureaucratic authoritarianism," which put the forces of the Attorney General's Antiradical Division behind an effort to get her out of the country. Confronted with "evidence" carefully assembled by J. Edgar Hoover, then a young man on the way up, Emma Goldman was deported in 1919, not for any real criminal offense, Drinnon writes, but for her social and political opinions. The government showed itself to be as Thoreau had characterized it, "timid as a lone woman with her silver spoons."

Drinnon is no stranger to political theory, and he recognizes that Emma Goldman borrowed most of her ideas from Peter Kropotkin, who stressed cooperation as well as competition and offered more than the stereotyped anarchist mystique of violence. She added to this, however, a strong individualist strain which she took from Henrik Ibsen, whose she took from as the subject of many of her lectures. Drinnon believes that without doubt Miss Goldman was as keenly aware as Ibsen of the tragedy of the modern individual stifled in mass organization; yet she was as apprehensive as Kropotkin of the power-obsessed, socially irresponsible individual.

It was not until 1936, four years before her death, that she glimpsed this "new world" of her dreams in Spain. There, anarchists had a brief success with collectivizing farms and factories along lines envisioned by Kropotkin. She reinforced her conviction that the Spanish anarchists had proved that the Bolshevik pattern of revolution was not inevitable. In fact, she was among the first to denounce the Bolshevik tyranny, although in 1919 she had been deported from the United States to Russia and was then a confirmed supporter of Lenin. She fled two years later to write *My Disillusionment with Russia* and to disavow the brutalities of the Bolshevik regime. After her articles were refused by *The Nation, The New Republic,* and *Freeman,* and after a cold reception to her ideas from leading liberals and radicals in England, she accepted the offer of *The New York World* to print seven of her stories. Barbara Ward came to her defense when Bertrand Russell would not. But Miss Goldman may have had some satisfaction several years later from the comment of John Haynes Holmes who said to her in 1935: "Well, Emma, you and Berkman are coming into your own. You were the first to disclose the butcheries in Russia. Now we all know and have to admit it." Emma Goldman died in 1940, active to the last.

Richard Drinnon, a young historian who taught at the University of California from 1957 to 1960 and who is now a Bruern Fellow at the University of Leeds, is fascinated by his subject and by the radical style of politics. There are times, it might be objected, when the views of Drinnon come through more clearly than those of his heroine. He has written a book, however, that combines scrupulous and exhaustive scholarship with a lively insight into the life of a woman whose battles have in the main been won, but whose convictions and zeal would be welcome today. Professor Drinnon's study adds dimension and balance to Emma Goldman's two-volume autobiography, *Living My Life* (1931), and contributes significantly to the history of American radicalism.

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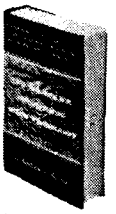

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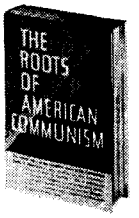

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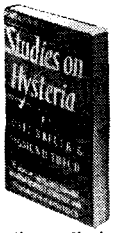

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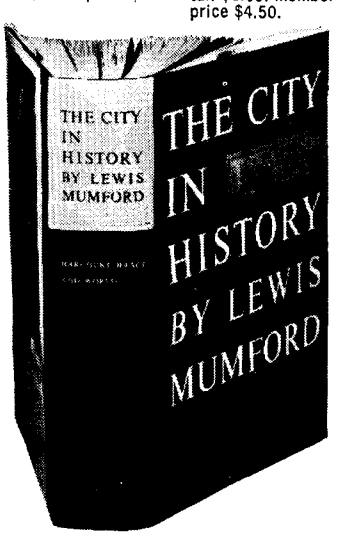

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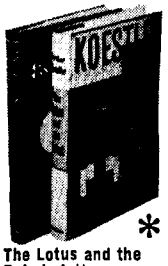

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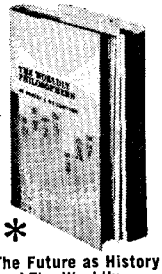

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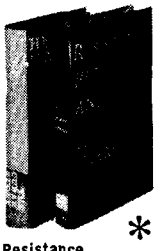

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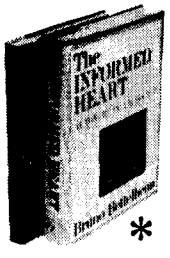

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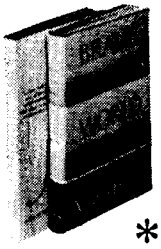

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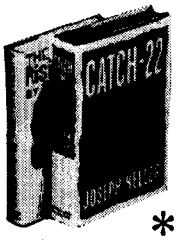

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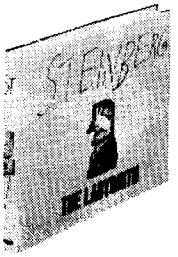

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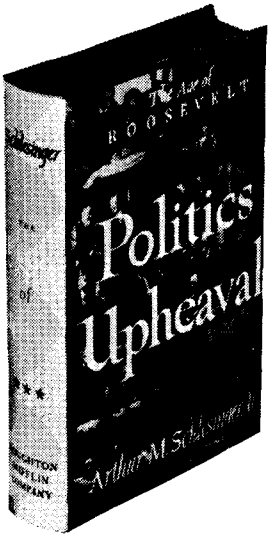

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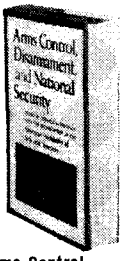

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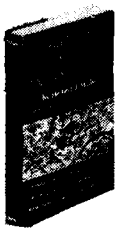

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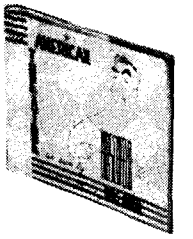

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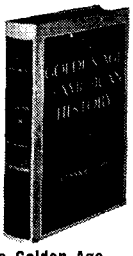

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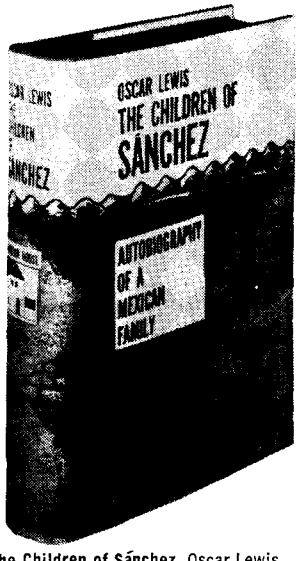

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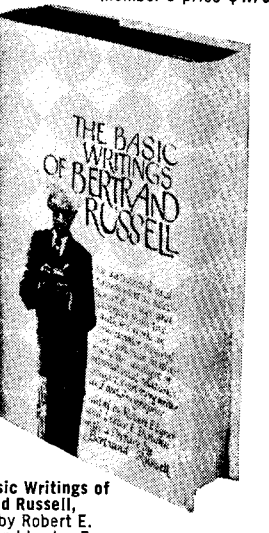

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Apologia for Authoritarianism

by David J. Eisen

"Freedom" and "independence" are such bedmates in the lexicon of political slogans that it has become customary to think of them as synonymous. That this is no less a political than a semantic fallacy should by now have become painfully apparent. Ghana, Indonesia, Egypt, Cuba, Iraq, Pakistan – the roll of colonial countries that have achieved independence without political freedom is long and doleful.

Africa:
The Politics of Independence
by Immanuel Wallerstein
(Vintage; $1.25)

The pandemic character of this authoritarian tendency, at least so far as Africa is concerned, emerges clearly from Wallerstein's essay. It is not confined to those regimes that are scarcely concealed dictatorships, such as those of Ghana and Egypt. Of the 29 independent African states, Wallerstein finds only Nigeria an exception to the "nondemocratic tendency."

Wallerstein's central thesis is that Africans, emerging from tribalism, are lacking the tradition to play the democratic game. The absence of patriotic loyalties makes it difficult to distinguish between opposition to the governing party and opposition to the state and thus forces the government to proscribe *all* opposition in order to save the nation from disintegration. For the same reason, it resorts to harsh enforcement of the law, "voluntary" conscription for road-building and similar projects, glorification of the ruling party and deification of the "national hero" – Nkrumah in Ghana, Bourguiba in Tunisia, Toure in Guinea, among the more brilliant luminaries. Wallerstein sees the myth of the hero's infallibility as important as the party's pre-eminence in cementing the African's loyalty to his nation; if the new African rulers make no distinction among the three, he maintains, it is because neither does the citizen.

That much of this is redolent of totalitarianism is a similarity not lost upon the author. Anticipating the reader's conclusion, he is at pains to demonstrate that these political methods differ not only in degree but in kind from those that have become familiar from the Yangtze to the Elbe. The evidence is less than persuasive.

Wallerstein points to the absence of a secret police, mass turnouts at elections and local political meetings and "a climate in which free discussion is encouraged . . . insofar as such discussion is kept within the framework of the party structure." Almost as much could be said of Poland today, and the description would not be a flagrant exaggeration of matters as they now stand even in Russia. Wallerstein argues that "the national hero is not a dictator who reigns by whim and fiat." Rather, he is "the spokesman of . . . a national political bureau of a political party" – a description which pretty well sums up the present status of the national hero who is tending store in the Kremlin. A regime is no less dictatorial for being the dictatorship of a clique rather than that of an individual; indeed, it could well be argued that Nasser and Nkrumah, at least, wield considerably more personal power at the moment than does Khrushchev.

Wallerstein finds it significant that African leaders proclaim their systems as "peculiarly African contributions to the theory of *democratic* society," although admittedly "neither liberal nor individualistic." This delusion, however, is lacking any sparkle of novelty in a world that has become accustomed to "people's democracy," "guided democracy" and other combinations in which the adjective sucks the noun of all its marrow. Hard-put indeed is the authoritarian regime today that cannot advertise its abominations as a peculiarly ingenious form of democracy.

The authoritarian trend in former colonial countries is not at all confined to Africa; it has been manifested in Asia and Latin America, which do not suffer from the lack of national tradition that Wallerstein diagnoses as the root of its growth in Africa. The parallelism would suggest that something at the same time more fundamental and less inevitable is at the core.

Unique in Africa, however, as Wallerstein's capable historical review brings out, is the artificial nature of most of the new nations, summoned into being by geometric lines drawn across the map by their colonizers. These lines divide homogeneous tribes in one case and throw hostile peoples into the same national cauldron in another. Few nations have had to undergo the agony of creation in this fashion. The national tradition is absent because, in most cases, the nation prior to independence was neither a political nor a geographic nor an ethnic reality.

The political straitjacket is one response to this situation. But there is another – regional federation. Wallerstein cites Nigeria, with its three federated regions, each dominated by a single party, as virtually the sole exception to the one-party trend in Africa. This federated structure, of a type rejected so fiercely by Nkrumah and others, has survived without deportations, detentions, political restrictions or electoral juggling. The author fears secessionism without the iron hoop of a strong state, but there would seem to be a reasonable question whether se-

To the Explorer

There is much space still to explore and conquer
Between these old seas, on this well known ground;
The world is wide as always, and as always
Wider than the world is round.

Last league of water sailed, last island settled,
Still must explorers voyage hardy hearted.
Peace is a country yet unknown, and Plenty
Has been discovered but is not yet charted.

Marie de L. Welch
from *The New Republic*, June 9, 1937

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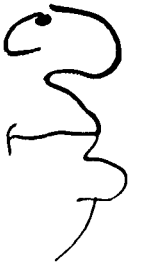
JULES FEIFFER

"LOOK AT HIM," THEY USED TO SAY. "PRESIDENT OF THE COMPANY," THEY USED TO SAY.

AND I USED TO SMILE AND BUY MORE STOCK AND MOVE EVEN **HIGHER**. "LOOK AT HIM," THEY USED TO SAY.



AND ALL THE TIME - WHILE **THEY** WERE LOOKING AND I WAS SMILING - INSIDE ME A LITTLE VOICE WAS TALKING - YAMMER, YAMMER, YAMMER - A LITTLE VOICE SAYING - "**YOU** ARE A **FRAUD**, IRWIN CORPULENT. SOMEDAY THEY'RE GOING TO FIND YOU OUT AND TAKE IT ALL AWAY."

I **REASONED** WITH THE LITTLE VOICE BUT IT DIDN'T DO ANY GOOD. "**I'M** HONEST!" I ARGUED. "I **DESERVE** TO BE WHERE I AM!" BUT THE LITTLE VOICE JUST REPEATED - "SOMEDAY THEY'RE GOING TO FIND YOU OUT, IRWIN CORPULENT. SOMEDAY THEY'RE GOING TO TAKE IT ALL AWAY."

I **IGNORED** THE VOICE. I INVESTED **MORE**. I MADE A **LOT** OF MONEY. BUT THE **HIGHER** I WENT THE **SHAKIER** I FELT. THEN ONE DAY A COMMITTEE OF TOTAL STRANGERS CAME INTO MY OFFICE. "WHAT CAN I DO FOR YOU?" I ASKED, THINKING IT MIGHT BE ANOTHER GOOD CITIZENSHIP AWARD.

"YOU ARE A FRAUD, IRWIN CORPULENT," THEY SAID TO ME. "WE HAVE FOUND YOU OUT AND WE ARE TAKING IT ALL AWAY."

I CLEANED OUT MY DESK AND I LEFT.

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WHEN THEY FIND YOU OUT THEY FIND YOU OUT. WHY ARGUE.

4-29

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cession followed, after a lapse of time, by voluntary federation would not be a preferable alternative to semi-totalitarianism. Centripetal tendencies, as Wallerstein shows, are at least as strong as separatist ones on most of the continent; preliminary moves toward federation have been made by several of the new states, although they are unlikely to come to fruition as long as each maintains a more or less authoritarian rigidity.

MOVIES

No Design for Living

Jules and Jim (Janus)

Love has its risks; and the risk of loving art as much as the French do is that one can become so interested in invention and refinement of technique, so immersed in the atmosphere of art, that one loses sight of purposes. It is a confusion of the sheer happiness of being in the studio (paint or film) with the reason for being there.

Jules and Jim, the new film by Francois Truffaut who made *The 400 Blows*, is an instance. No viewer can be unmoved by its joy in imagination, by the way Truffaut runs *to* the film form to experiment and dare, by his pure reveling in the powers and possibilities of the medium. Nor is this to patronize the picture as a mere attempt; there is very much in it that is beautiful.

The story is about a triangle which is at first isosceles and ends up virtually equilateral. Jules and Jim are two young writer-friends in 1912 Paris, the former a German, the latter a Frenchman (who insists on the English nickname). Together they explore art, sport, love of women. Jules falls in love with Catherine, a French girl, who eventually marries him. Jim loves her, too, but says nothing, contenting himself with another girl who loves him but whom he declines to marry. The war separates the two men. Afterwards, Jim visits Jules and Catherine and their daughter in the Rhineland and discovers that Jules is unhappy because he is no longer truly Catherine's husband; she has lovers. Still, Jules is satisfied as long as she will live with him. Jim and Catherine become lovers (with Jules' knowledge), then she tires of him because he cannot give her a child. Jules and Catherine move to France, near Paris. There is an attempt by Catherine to renew the affair with Jim which ends when she threatens to shoot him. He runs away. Some time later the three meet amiably in a film theater and go to a country restaurant. While Jules watches, she invites Jim for a drive and plunges the car into a lake. Both Catherine and Jim are drowned; cremated; Jules sees the ashes interred and walks away through the cemetery.

The disjointed effect of this synopsis is not unfair to the film. It begins as a light-hearted *vie boheme* comedy of Toulouse-Lautrec Paris (with charming music by Georges Delerue). The war intervenes – at too great a length for its importance to the story. Then the triangle resumes with a changed tone: Strindberg's goddess-gutter view of women combined with the Emancipated Neurotic of the twenties. The shift would be interesting if it were a true modulation: time finding the bones beneath the flesh-bloom of youth. But the structure seems haphazard, full of irrelevancies, almost cantankerous. What starts as a rueful-happy Gallic *Design for Living* tilts sideways to become a semi-pathological study – to no perceptible character or thematic point.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Bernard Nossiter *is an economic analyst on the staff of* The Washington Post. William Jay Smith *is poet-in-residence at Williams College and a member of the Vermont state legislature.* Wilson Pollock *is in New York writing his first novel.* James E. Watson *teaches political science at San Jose College.* David J. Eisen *is a member of the research department of the American Newspaper Guild.*

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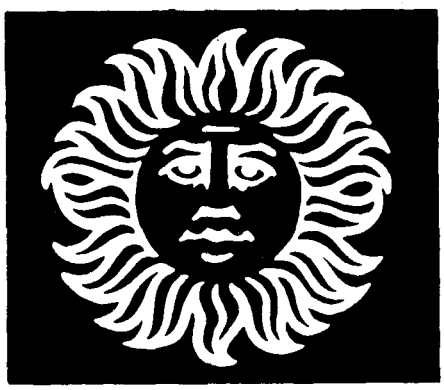
Besides, in this script by Truffaut and Jean Gruault (from a novel by Henri-Pierre Roché), there is a growing disparity between what is said and what we see. Jules says he puts up with Catherine's behavior because her presence blesses him to whatever degree she remains in his life. Jim worships her on more or less the same ground. But where is this warm beneficent woman? We see a self-indulgent sensualist, self-consciously sensitive, full of whims and impatience, who never really does anything for anybody and who – because she is finally rejected by Jim – kills him and herself in front of her husband. And even this seems pettish caprice; she and Jules were again living together pleasantly and just happened to meet Jim at the movies.

Goethe's *Elective Affinities* is quoted in the film, and there is a hint that a parallel is intended. Although Goethe's novel deals with a quadrangle, it has certain resemblances in story and idea. But can the deaths of Catherine and Jim have been contrived for the same reason as those of Ottilie and Edward? Goethe said: "Either morality triumphs or is defeated. . . . Ottilie and Edward had to perish after they had given free rein to their inclinations. Therein consists the triumph of the moral principle." Can this heavy sentimentality have been Truffaut's goal?

The patchwork effect of the script is reflected in Truffaut's direction, which returns us to the matter of art for art-making's sake. The film is such a fireworks display of cinematic techniques and devices that our first impression is that we are in the hands of a master. Soon, however, we feel that we are only in the hands of an imaginative enthusiast. The film is filled with intense close-ups, lovely lighting effects, swift cuts, investigations of texture. There are freezes and resumptions of movement in mid-scene as the camera is arbitrarily stopped for a moment; there are sequences in which the camera is hand-held for no apparent reason; there are trick fade-ins. (On a black screen the upper right corner of the next shot is seen, then it spreads out to fill the screen.) Some of the newsreel shots of the war are distended to fill the wide screen, some are used in their original 35 mm. width.

Shot by shot, almost all of the film is visually exquisite. (For one example, the shot in which the three shutters of the white beach house are thrown open in the brilliant morning sunshine.) But there is no controlling sense of style or of pertinence, only a coltish enjoyment of the camera's potentialities. What is the point of the scene in which Catherine's nightgown catches fire and Jim extinguishes it? Why the long silence when the trio sit down to their first meeting after the war? Why the long song she sings with her lover Albert? Because Truffaut enjoyed these scenes in themselves; that seems to be the only reason. They are all well done but are unrelated to the whole, thus despite their excellence of execution – in fact, because of it – make the film ultimately disappointing.

As Jules, Oskar Werner has a sweet, tousled quality, full of canine patience. As Jim, Henri Serre presents a handsome Gaugin-like face but does little more. It is Jeanne Moreau, as Catherine, who gives not only the pivotal but the best performance: mercurial, ego-



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centric, tyrannical, appealing. Whether she is kidding her own femininity in newsboy's cap and painted moustache or sitting as *hausfrau* in steel-rimmed spectacles and high shoes or embracing a lover, she is supplying a better performance than the part can support. Her Catherine is a character in search of an author.

Truffaut said in a recent interview:

> "My films are circus shows . . . After the elephant comes the conjuror; after the conjuror, the bear. I even arrange an interval round about the sixth reel because people may be getting a bit tired. At the seventh reel I take them in hand again and try to end up with the best thing in the show."

When Diaghileff commissioned Cocteau to work for his ballet company, he said, *"Jean, étonne-moi."* This seems to be Truffaut's principal esthetic. There is a lot less here than meets the eye, but what does meet the eye is frequently astonishing.

STANLEY KAUFFMANN

Correspondence

The New Republic welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.

New African Writers

Sirs:

Robie Macauley is certainly correct in his comment that "nothing in that spate of reportage to be found in any bookstore can begin to compare" with the insight of the new generation of African writers (April 23), though this says as much about the seedy here's-the-answer stuff as it does about the African novels. But his comment merely points up what I think is precisely the problem of these writers – that they are better at descriptions or tracts or memoirs than they are at novels.

Most of the novels so far published are pretty bad – whether judged on purely European standards (and since they are written in European languages perhaps they ought to be) or the new standards the Africans themselves sometimes like to put forward.

William Conton's *The African* has innumerable structural defects and grade-school mistakes, and its abrupt, unresolved ending is absolutely crippling. (By the way, Conton is not, as Macauley says, a Ghanaian – he was born in Gambia and now lives in Sierra Leone.) Amos Tutuola's rambling folk tales might seem to be deliberately non-novelistic except they are billed as novels and he himself has called them that, while admitting at the same time that he doesn't know much about novels; whether novels or his own special breed, they have obvious defects.

Even Chinua Achebe, the best of the English-language writers, has not come up with a successfully rounded book. If he is trying to give some sort of vision for the new African of the cities, as he suggested to me, he has not succeeded in building characters who are three-dimensional enough to carry this load, nor has he put them in plots which are sufficiently realistic, organic or comprehensive.

None of which is meant to suggest that the books are not interesting. They are. They give an excellent picture of the old flavors and the new problems in the African's life. But I think that once we get past the fascination for a strange world that these authors open up we must say that they have a lot to learn about writing before we want to give them any stature as novelists – or any stature, indeed, beyond that of the traditional African story-teller who has discovered a new audience.

There are other problems I wish Macauley had touched upon – why the new authors have almost no audience (and no particular stature) in their own countries; why they seem to be uninterested in either the political revolutions that have recently stamped Africa on the consciousness of the world or the day-to-day politics that surrounds almost every social and cultural decision in the new Africa; why the East and Central African writers have not

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yet emerged as novelists even though they show in their short stories in the various magazines that they have every bit as much talent as the West Africans, plus a more agonized awareness, due to their different colonial background, of the on-rushing civilization of the Western world.

Nonetheless, I think Macauley has done a fine service in bringing some of the new African writers to the attention of the American public.

J. Kirk Sale
New York, N. Y.

Test Ban

Sirs:

I am unable to follow your reasoning in the editorial of April 23 on the test ban. The primary purpose of the ban, as you admit was to take a first step towards more extensive arms control, including disarmament. Acceptance of limited *international* inspection system became a symbol of sincere and serious interest in any arms control measures. Even though a national system of monitoring might be nearly as effective, it still would not provide that symbol of serious interest which was the main point of the test-ban idea.

The weakness of the test-ban proposal has always been that it does not provide enough incentive by way of substantial arms control to compensate the Soviets for accepting invasion of their secrecy. From this point of view the Sohn plan, now proposed by the administration, for zonal disarmament in stages under international inspection may well be a better alternative than the test ban. It is significant that Hans Bethe, formerly one of the most earnest advocates of the test ban, has recently taken this position.

Cushing Strout
California Institute of Technology
Pasadena, California

In reply . . .

The point made in the editorial to which Mr. Strout refers was that while "first step" toward arms control "was and is an important aim . . . we should not sacrifice the possibility of a test ban in a fruitless effort to establish the precedent of international inspection."

THE EDITORS

The Roosevelt Memorial

Sirs:

I commend you and your contributing writer, Wolf von Eckardt, for his article on the F. D. Roosevelt memorial design.

After careful examination of the models and drawings and after reading the reviews, especially those by critics who favor caustic turn of the tongue over a fair appraisal, I find Mr. von Eckardt's article in *The New Republic*, approving the winning design, the best expressed and the wisest statement I have read in this complex controversy.

A properly organized and open competition with excellent judges is the way to achieve the best architecture. Congress, not the competitors, determined that a memorial should be built and chose the site. Without competition we can get the sterile eclecticism of the Madison addition to the Library of Congress, which the "Architect" of the Capitol is quietly foisting upon Congress and us.

Thomas W. D. Wright, AIA
Washington, D. C.

Reich on Steel

Sirs:

I would like to express my appreciation of the thoughtful essay by Charles A. Reich which you published in *The New Republic* of April 30, 1962. So probing an exploration of the fundamental issues of government involved in the recent steel-price crisis can not fail to lend weight and dignity to the public discussion of these matters wherever this essay is known. I hope Mr. Reich's contribution will receive wide attention.

Oscar Gass
Washington, D. C.

"IT IS a pleasure to read a philosopher (Brand Blanshard) who treats Good not as the predicate of a sentence but as the object of man's pursuit. It is true that he only goes back one century to Sidgwick and Bentham; but that is progress. Step by step, century by century, we may arrive again at something like sanity. After all, once men begin 'setting the clock back,' it is not hard to choose between a Sidgwick and a Socrates."

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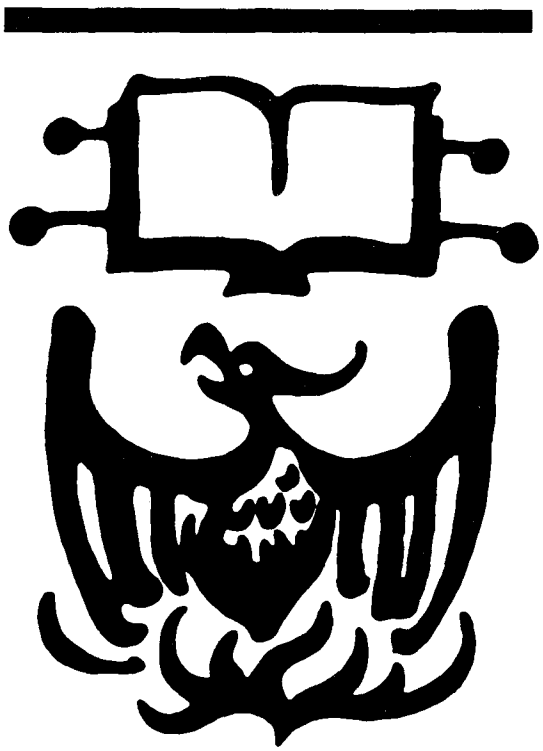

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